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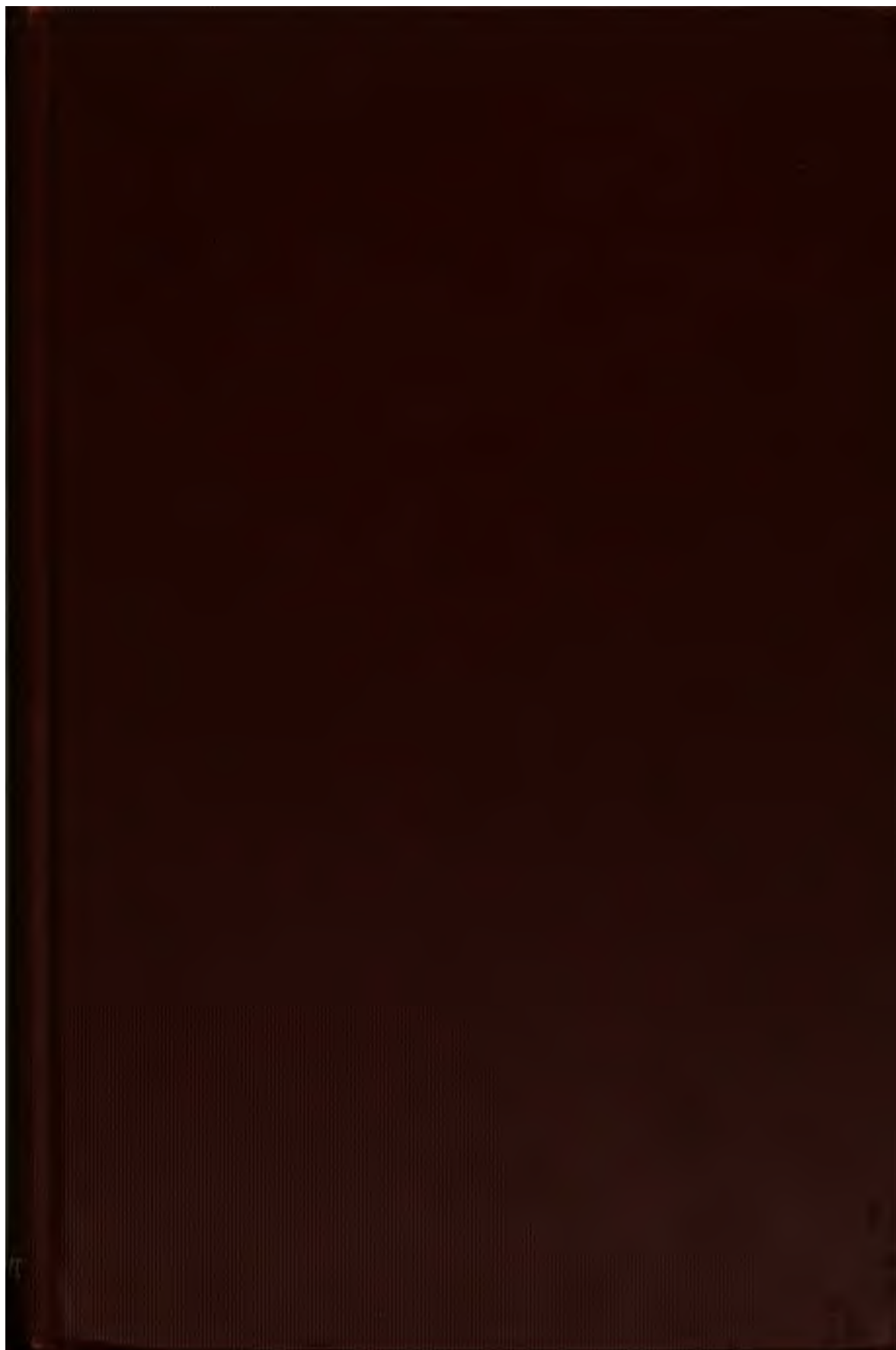
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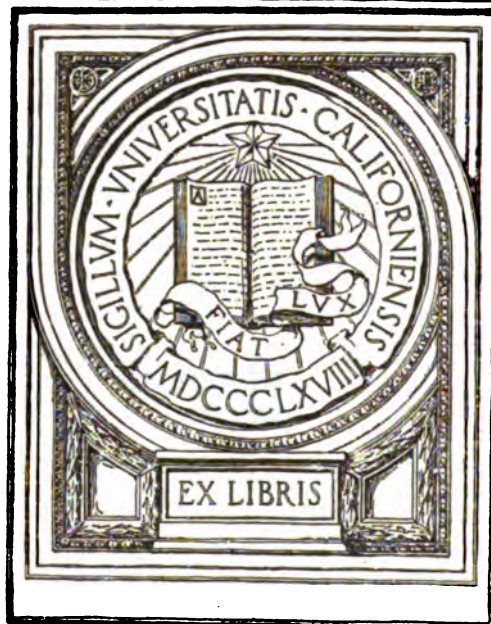
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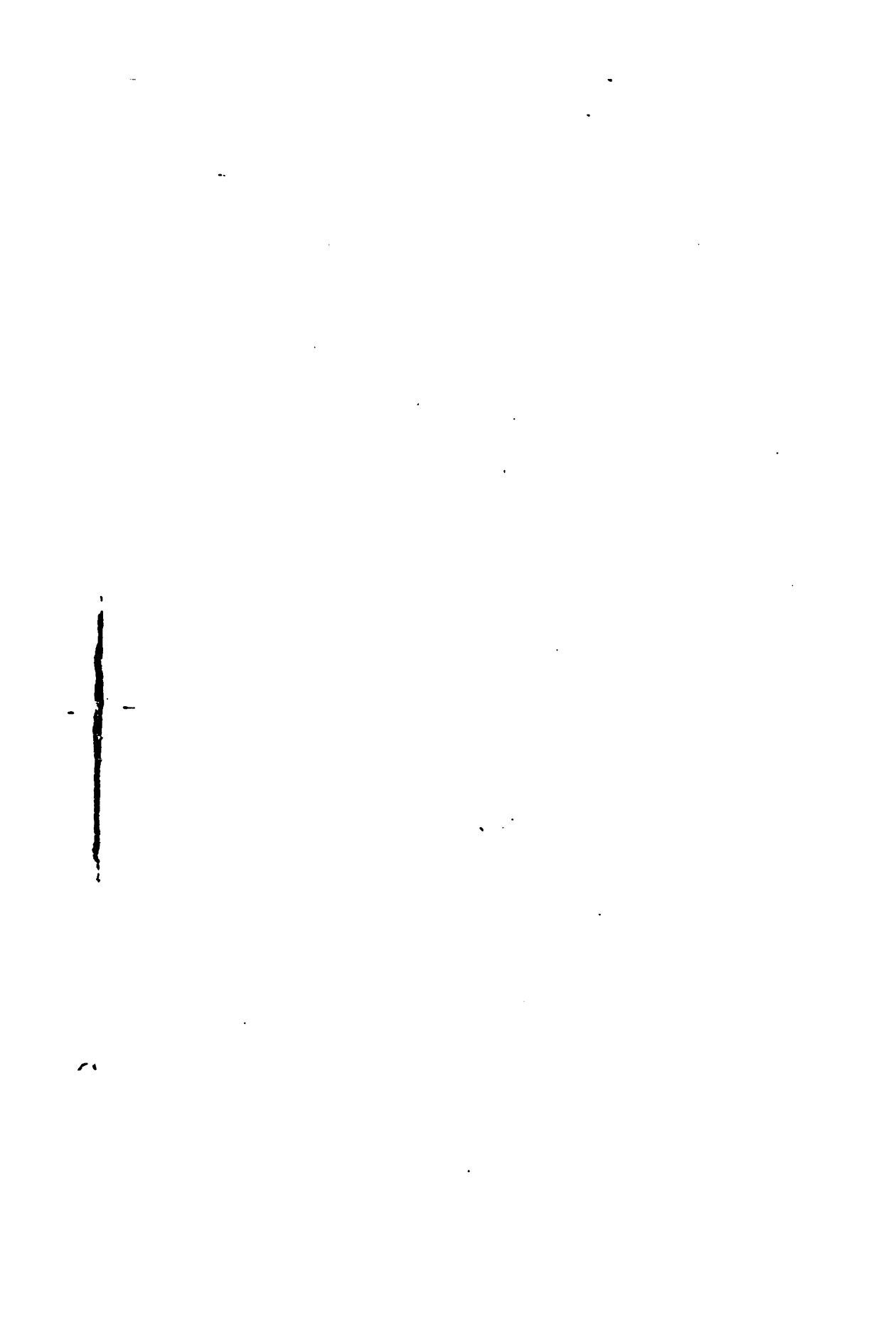


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STATE OF NEW YORK

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REPORT

OF THE

New York State Commission

on

Relief for Widowed Mothers

TRANSMITTED TO THE LEGISLATURE MARCH 27, 1914

ALBANY  
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LAWS OF NEW YORK.—By Authority

Chap. 588

AN ACT to establish a commission to inquire into the subject of pensions or other relief for widowed mothers, and making an appropriation therefor.

Became a law May 17, 1913, with the approval of the Governor. Passed by a two-thirds vote.

*The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:*

Section 1. Within thirty days after this act takes effect there shall be appointed in the manner hereinafter provided a commission whose duty it shall be to make inquiry, examination and investigation into the practicability and appropriate method of providing by statute for pensions or other relief for widowed mothers, including such an investigation of the circumstances affecting such persons as may show the necessity or propriety of providing for such pensions or relief, and for the purposes of such investigation the commission may inquire into conditions and statutes in any state or country. Such commission shall submit its report on such matters, including such recommendations for legislation in the form of a bill or bills, or otherwise, as in its judgment may seem proper, to the legislature of nineteen hundred and fourteen.

§ 2. Such commission shall consist of three senators to be appointed by the temporary president of the senate, five members of the assembly to be appointed by the speaker of the assembly, and seven other persons, not members of the legislature, to be appointed by the governor. Such commission shall elect from its number a chairman and may appoint a secretary.

§ 3. The members of such commission shall serve without compensation, but each member shall be entitled to his actual necessary expenses incurred in the performance of his duties under the provisions of this act.

§ 4. For the purposes of its investigation such commission is hereby authorized to send for persons and papers, to administer oaths and to examine witnesses and papers respecting all matters

pertaining to the subjects referred to in the first section of this act and to employ all necessary clerical and other assistants, within the appropriation therefor. If such commission shall appoint from its members sub-committees to make inquiry into one or more of such subjects, such sub-committees shall have the same powers in respect to sending for persons and papers, administering oaths and examining witnesses and papers, as are herein conferred upon the commission.

§ 5. The sum of fifteen thousand dollars (\$15,000), or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the state treasury not otherwise appropriated for the expenses of such commission and its members under the provisions of this act, to be paid by the state treasurer upon the warrant of the comptroller upon vouchers approved by the chairman of such commission.

§ 6. This act shall take effect immediately.

STATE OF NEW YORK, }  
Office of the Secretary of State. } ss:

I have compared the preceding with the original law on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole of said original law.

MITCHELL MAY  
*Secretary of State*

# STATE OF NEW YORK

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No. 64

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## IN SENATE

MARCH 27, 1914

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### REPORT OF THE NEW YORK STATE COMMISSION ON RELIEF FOR WIDOWED MOTHERS

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The normal development of childhood is one of the main functions of government. The best education requires a proper home training, and it thereby becomes the duty of the State to conserve the home as its most valuable asset whenever factors, other than the improper guardianship of the parents, threaten its destruction.

In the belief that a present need exists for the State to perform this duty in the dependent families of widowed mothers, there has been agitation in most of the states of this country as well as in the principal nations of Europe for a reorganization of all existing relationships between the State and its dependent families. This agitation has made itself felt in New York in the recent annual Conferences of Charities and Corrections and in the several bills introduced by Judge Levy during his long term of service in the Legislature. A measure looking towards the relief of the dependent widow in her home was introduced into the New York Legislature as early as 1896, passing both Houses, but being vetoed by the Governor. It was not, however, until the Hon.

Aaron J. Levy, then a member of the Assembly, championed this cause that the movement took a real hold in this State. Year after year Mr. Levy introduced and fought for the passage of several bills looking towards this end, and finally when these efforts were unavailing, he succeeded in passing the law creating this Commission. It has resulted in bringing the attention of all socially minded people sharply to the problem of widowhood, and in endeavoring to raise the standards of relief provided for widowed mothers who come under the jurisdiction of charitable organizations.

### Formation of the Commission

As deeper study was made of the situation in the city and State of New York, the need for more generous and permanent provision than the public officials or the private agencies could afford became increasingly apparent. In order to apprise itself fully of the problem, the Legislature of 1913 authorized the creation of a Commission charged with the duty of making "inquiry, examination and investigation into the practicability and appropriate method of providing by statute for pensions or other relief for widowed mothers, including such an investigation of the circumstances affecting such persons as may show the necessity or propriety of providing for such pensions or relief."

### Organization of the Commission

In accordance with the provisions of Chapter 588 of the Laws of 1913, this Commission was appointed in August and was composed of: Senators Anthony J. Griffin, Henry W. Pollock and Ralph W. Thomas, appointed by the temporary President of the Senate; Assemblymen Frederick S. Burr, Aaron J. Levy, Martin G. McCue, James W. Rozan and Thomas K. Smith, appointed by the Speaker of the House; and Mrs. Hannah B. Einstein, Miss Sophie Irene Loeb, E. Frank Brewster, William Hard, John D. Lindsay and Ansley Wilcox, appointed by the Governor. The Commission organized on September 3, 1913, chose the Hon. Aaron J. Levy as permanent Chairman, and appointed Mr. Richard M. Neustadt, then Assistant Headworker of the University Settlement of New York city, as Secretary, and the Hon. Robert W. Heberd, Secretary of the State Board of Charities, as Director of Investigations.

### The Work of the Commission

Headquarters were at once established in the Longacre Building at 1476 Broadway, New York city, and five competent investigators were immediately engaged to carry on the work. For six months the Commission has been diligently pursuing its study

through the several sub-committees and its executive staff. The records of some of the large private and public charities throughout the State have been thoroughly investigated. The legislation in the other states of this country has been closely studied and a first hand inquiry made into the operations of those laws dealing with this problem in western communities that had been in operation for more than one year. A special inquiry has been made by Miss Loeb into the conditions and legislation in Great Britain, France, Germany, Denmark and Switzerland. Moreover, the various books, magazine articles, conference papers and committee reports, which could shed any light upon the subject, have been carefully reviewed and much new testimony and statistics gathered at hearings held in the principal cities of this State and in Missouri, Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan and Massachusetts.

In the extended report which follows, we present first a general presentation of the problem of public assistance to the widow as an essential step in social legislation, as studied by our Secretary, Mr. Neustadt. Then follows the special study of similar European legislation presented by Miss Loeb. And finally comes a detailed report of the case work of the private charities of the State as investigated by our Director of Investigations, Mr. Hebbard, before a special subcommittee of the Commission, consisting of Commissioners Einstein, Chairman; Loeb, Burr, Hard, Lindsay, and McCue.

In submitting this report, the Commission desires to thank all those officials of private and public social agencies who gave generously of their time and thought to this inquiry. Whatever criticism is made of the system of charity extant in the State and particularly in New York city is made without rancor or bitterness, the only aim having been to ascertain the true facts and to present them accurately.

This Commission respectfully presents these reports to the Legislature, and to the Governor of the State of New York, believing that its conclusions are based upon exhaustive research and thorough investigation, and that its recommendations are necessary of immediate adoption to meet adequately an immediate need to conserve the moral welfare of the citizens of the future.

### Basic Principles

The Commission believes it to be fundamentally true that:

1. The mother is the best guardian of her children.
2. Poverty is too big a problem for private philanthropy.
3. No woman, save in exceptional circumstances, can be both the home-maker and the bread-winner of her family.
4. Preventive work to be successful must concern itself with the child and the home.
5. Normal family life is the foundation of the State, and its conservation an inherent duty of government.

### The General Situation

The Commission finds that:

1. Widowhood is the second greatest cause of dependency, the first being the incapacity of the breadwinner.
2. The widowed mother is in peculiar need of adequate assistance, and is uniquely open to constructive educational endeavors.
3. Public aid to dependent fatherless children is quite different in theory and effect from "charity" or "outdoor relief."
4. The experience of twenty-one other states in the Union, and of the larger countries of Europe, proves that it is feasible to administer such aid wisely and efficiently by public officials.
5. The experience elsewhere has shown that such aid is the most economical as well as the most socially advanced method of caring for dependent children.

### The Situation in New York State

This Commission finds that:

#### 1. COMMITMENT OF CHILDREN

Two thousand seven hundred and sixteen children of 1,483 widowed mothers are at present in institutions at public expense, who were committed for destitution only; 933 children



of 489 widows are at present in institutions because of illness of the mother, resulting often from overwork and overworry that might easily have been prevented.

## 2. SELF-SUPPORT IMPOSSIBLE

a. The unskilled widowed mother is unable to support herself and her family at a reasonable standard of living by taking work into the home or going out into the broader fields of industry.

b. The work available to such women outside of the home inevitably breaks down the physical, mental and moral strength of the family and disrupts the home life through an inadequate standard of living and parental neglect, due to the enforced absence of the mother at the time the children most need her care.

c. The work available in the home results, equally inevitably, in the prevention of normal family life, by causing overwork, congestion, child-labor, contagion, and a dangerously low standard of living.

## 3. NORMAL CHILDLIFE IMPOSSIBLE

This disruption of the home contributes largely and directly to the backwardness and delinquency of children.

## 4. PRESENT SOURCES OF ASSISTANCE INADEQUATE

Neither the public outdoor relief system extant in the State, nor the private charities in our larger cities, have sufficient funds to relieve adequately all widows of the grim burden of support so that they might remain at home to take personal care of their dependent children.

## 5. PRESENT ASSISTANCE WRONG IN PRINCIPLE

That neither public outdoor relief nor private charity constitutes the proper method of carrying on the conservation of the good home.

### First Recommendation

With these principles as a basis, and these facts as a reason, the Commission respectfully recommends the immediate enactment into law of the principle of State aid to the dependent children of widowed mothers.

### Government Aid the Only Solution

Other solutions that have been suggested to and rejected by the Commission are:

1. That all such relief be left in the hands of private charity.

By a review of the work done in individual families, and through the testimony presented by many charity experts, the Commission finds that private charity has not the funds, and cannot, in the future, raise the funds to give adequate relief in the home, nor to administer such funds in the efficient, wise and sympathetic manner which it has itself set up as the ideal.

2. That the State grant aid through the volunteer relief societies or the private child-caring institutions.

The Commission finds that experience in other states demonstrates clearly that public officials can be found who can administer such assistance as wisely and as sympathetically as can private social workers.

3. That this question be left until a complete system of social insurance be adopted in this State.

The Commission finds that no comprehensive system of social insurance, covering all the possible causes of the death of the breadwinner of the family is apt to be adopted in New York State for a great many years to come, and that the social insurance system of Europe, though in certain instances it has been in operation for more than a generation, has not even yet succeeded in making adequate provision for the homecare of widowed mothers. Further, and as a lesson to be drawn from European experience, the Commission

believes that a system of direct governmental aid to the widowed mother with children should be considered not as an alternative to, but as a necessary and integral part of social insurance.

### **The Method of Administration Proposed**

Believing, therefore, that State aid is the only possible method of meeting the present urgent need in such families and of conserving the moral welfare of such children, the Commission recommends that:

An Act to provide for the establishment of local boards of child welfare empowered to grant relief to children of widowed mothers.

*The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:*

Section 1. Provision is hereby made for the appointment of local boards of child welfare, which, subject to the provisions of this act and through the vote of public moneys by local authorities for such purpose, shall be empowered to grant allowances to widowed mothers with one or more children under the age of sixteen years, in order that such children may be suitably cared for in their own homes by such mothers; provided always that such allowances shall be made only when the mothers are suitable persons to bring up their children properly and require aid to enable them to do so.

§ 2. Within sixty days after the passage of this act, the county judge of each county, except where the geographical limits of a city are coterminous with those of one or more counties, shall appoint a board of child welfare for such county. In a city whose geographical limits are coterminous with those of one or more counties, the mayor of such city shall appoint a board of child welfare for the city.

§ 3. Where the appointment of the board of child welfare is to be made by the county judge, as herein provided, such county judge shall appoint a board of child welfare composed of seven members, with the county superintendent of the poor of the county, or other officer exercising the duties of county superintendent of the poor, a member ex-officio of such board. The

said county judge shall also appoint as members of such board a representative each of the public school, and the public health authorities, and of the children's court or, in case there is no children's court, of the county court, in such county. He shall also appoint three additional members of such local board of child welfare, two at least of whom shall be women. The county judge shall appoint the members of the said board of child welfare, with the exception of the county superintendent of the poor or other officer exercising like powers in the county who shall continue to serve during his entire term of office, for definite terms of six years each, provided, however, that the places occupied by the representatives of the public school and the public health authorities, as well as the representative of the children's court or of the county court, shall become vacant upon their retirement from such public school, public health or court work, whereupon the vacancy created shall be filled for the balance of the term by some other representative of such authorities; and further provided that the county judge shall appoint the original members of the board of child welfare, except the county superintendent of the poor or other officer exercising like powers in the county, for one, two, three, four, five and six years, respectively, and shall thereafter, when their terms expire, appoint them or their successors for terms of six years each. In the event of a vacancy occurring before the expiration of the term of a member the appointment to fill such vacancy shall be for the balance of the term.

§ 4. The mayor of a city whose geographical limits are coterminous with those of one or more counties shall appoint a board of child welfare to be composed of nine members, with the commissioner of public charities of such city a member ex-officio of such board. The said mayor shall also appoint as members of such board a representative each of the public school and of the public health authorities of the city, together with a representative of the children's court. He shall also appoint five additional members of such board of child welfare, three at least of whom shall be women. The mayor shall appoint the members of the said board of child welfare, with the exception of the commissioner of public charities who shall continue to serve during his entire term of office, for definite terms of eight years each, pro-

vided, however, that the places occupied by the representatives of the public school, the public health and the children's court authorities of the city shall become vacant upon their retirement from such public school, public health or children's court work, whereupon the vacancy created shall be filled for the balance of the term by some other representative of such authorities; and further provided that the mayor shall appoint the original members of the board of child welfare, except the commissioner of public charities, for one, two, three, four, five, six, seven and eight years, and shall when their terms expire appoint them or their successors for terms of eight years each. In the event of a vacancy occurring before the expiration of the term of a member the appointment to fill such vacancy shall be for the balance of the term.

§ 5. The members of the boards of child welfare, as herein provided, shall receive no compensation for their services as members of such board, but shall be allowed the necessary expenses incurred by them in the discharge of their official duties.

§ 6. The said boards of child welfare shall in their discretion have authority and be empowered to grant an allowance to any dependent widow resident in the county or in the city wherein she applies for an allowance, who is of good habits and character, and is at the time of such application for an allowance the mother of one or more children under the age of sixteen years living with and dependent upon her, provided such widow has been a resident of the county or of the city where the application for an allowance is made for a period of one year immediately preceding such application. Such allowance may by a majority vote of all its members, duly entered upon the minutes of any regular or special meeting of such board, be granted directly by the said board of child welfare through its duly appointed visitors, agents or other representatives. Before aiding any mother to care for her children at home, the board of child welfare shall determine that the mother is a suitable person to bring up her own children and that aid is necessary to enable her to do so.

§ 7. The allowance made to such widowed mother shall not exceed twenty dollars per month when such mother has but one child under the age of sixteen years, and if she has more than

one child under the age of sixteen years, the allowance shall not exceed fifteen dollars per month additional for the second child and ten dollars per month additional for each such other child. It is further provided that in no event shall the allowance granted to any one mother and her children exceed the sum of sixty dollars per month. The allowance granted by the said board shall be paid out of any moneys appropriated by the local authorities empowered by law to appropriate moneys for such purposes, or as provided by law for meeting prospective deficiencies in the expenses of any county or city. Application for allowances may be made directly to any member of the board or through the public school which the children of the applicants for allowances are attending. A full and complete record shall be kept in every case coming either directly or indirectly within the jurisdiction of the said department.

§ 8. Powers and duties. Each of said boards of child welfare shall: 1. Meet and organize within ten days after appointment, and fix the dates for its meetings, which shall be held at least monthly.

2. Elect a chairman, and appoint a salaried secretary not a member of the board, who shall hold office subject to the pleasure of the board.

3. Establish an office and employ such officers and employees as it may deem advisable and proper.

4. Establish rules and regulations for the conduct of its business, which rules shall provide for the careful investigation of all applicants for allowances and the adequate supervision of all persons in receipt of allowances. Such rules shall further provide that no grant of an allowance shall be made by the board for a longer period than six months without renewal by the said board, and that reports shall be filed at least quarterly by the agents, visitors or representatives of the board with respect to the families in receipt of allowances granted by the said board.

5. Report annually in detail, the county boards to the boards of supervisors, and the city boards to the mayor, the result of their respective transactions for the preceding fiscal year, with such conclusions and recommendations as may be deemed wise and expedient.

6. Submit annually to the proper fiscal authorities an estimate of the funds required to carry out the purposes and intent of this act.

7. Be subject to the general supervision of the state board of charities and make such reports as the said board may require.

§ 9. The boards of supervisors of the several counties and the board of estimate and apportionment and the board of aldermen of any city affected by this act shall appropriate in each year such sum or sums as, in their judgment, may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this act. In the case of the counties affected by this act all the expenses for administration and relief shall be paid by the respective county, and in the case of any city or cities affected all such expenses shall be paid by the respective city.

§ 10. This act shall take effect October first, nineteen hundred and fourteen.

AARON J. LEVY,  
*Chairman.*

RICHARD M. NEUSTADT,  
*Secretary.*

**HOME CONSERVATION—A STEP IN SOCIAL LEGISLATION****CHAPTER I****Public Prevention of Poverty**

The problem of the prevention of poverty is perhaps the most serious that confronts any civilized community today. That it is ultimately preventable is a fundamental doctrine of democracy, an axiom of civilization. The principle of public effort in this field is an inherent part of the tradition of our State and Nation and is clearly recognized in our constitutions. The many laws which carry this great principle into effect must, from time to time, be modified and extended to keep pace with our increasing knowledge of the social needs of the community and our understanding of the methods of meeting such needs.

**Private Philanthropy the Preceptor**

In this development a great stimulus has been given by the activities of private philanthropy. The growth of the Charity Organization Movement which has resulted in the development of the many strong private relief-giving societies has done much to educate the public generally in its attitude toward the poor and to extend specifically our knowledge of the causes of misery and of the methods of eradicating them. By research and by precept, private charity has taught the community to treat each dependent family as a unit by itself and to co-operate in the endeavor to wipe out the fundamental defects in our society which contribute so largely to this dependency.

It has never been the function of private charity to supplant that of the government; rather, its field is to develop, through private effort, newer and better standards and methods for the government to undertake.

Sidney Webb in his "The Extension Ladder Theory" says:

\* "Looking back on the social history of the last hundred and fifty years, we must recognize that nearly all the suc-

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\* The Survey, March 14, 1914.



cessful developments in the United Kingdom as in the United States, in the way of collective provision for any class, have been preceded and rendered practicable by private experiments."

"We shall never get the full advantage of all the brilliant invention and devoted zeal and work existing among our volunteers and our voluntary institutions until we can place them on the sure foundation of public responsibility for the maintenance and enforcement of a minimum standard of life. When we have once secured this solid foundation our voluntary agencies will become what they ought essentially to be — on the one hand the eyes and face and fingers by which the stiffly moving machinery of collective action can be brought most effectively to bear upon particular cases discovered by or remitted to them; and on the other — pioneer endeavors to raise ever higher and higher the standard of what human conduct can be made to be; by showing, in this direction and in that, how and where it is possible actually to raise the 'national minimum.' In this way will be pushed ever upward the conception of the order, the freedom and the beauty that it is possible to secure to and for every individual in the community."

Later he says:

\* "Because of their financial uncertainty and their sporadic growth, it is practically impossible for voluntary agencies, however, to perform any task or execute any service completely and continuously."

Mrs. Florence Kelley, General Secretary of the National Consumers League, said:

† "Charity is of two kinds, public and private. In the interest of the whole community, private charity cannot be allowed to monopolize certain necessary tasks which, in the nature of the case, it cannot adequately perform. This applies

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\* The Survey, March 14, 1914.

† The Modern Theory of Charity, 1914.

to maintenance in the cases of families whose breadwinners are dead or disabled by diseases not provably due to industrial causes, particularly when there are children."

The Hon. Thomas M. Mulry, President of the Superior Council of the St. Vincent de Paul Society and a member of the New York State Board of Charities, says:

\* "It is a fundamental principle, universally recognized and quite generally conceded as a proposition admitting of little dispute, that under the present conditions existing in our social fabric, upon the state or government necessarily must devolve the duty of making suitable and adequate provision for such of its dependent citizen wards as, by reason of old age, mental or physical sickness or other infirmities, are found incapable of properly caring for themselves. Likewise, it must be conceded that it is highly incumbent upon the State to extend its protection and support to such children of its citizens as have been deprived by death or other circumstances of the care, support and protection of their parents or natural guardians."

#### Aid to Dependent Children No Charity

In approaching this problem of State aid to widowed mothers we must realize first then that this is not so much a question of ordinary charity as of the duty of the State towards its minor wards.

The widowed mother of dependent children has suffered most through the present inadequacy of treatment and it is therefore to her that the State of New York through this Commission turns its attention first. Such limitation of interest is proper not only because of her greater need, but also because the worthy widow who is left to assume the burden of the care of her fatherless children has a unique claim upon the community that transcends ordinary charity and lifts her above the other classes of dependents.

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\* Presidential Address, National Conference of Catholic Charities, 1910.

The New York Congestion Commission reports as follows:

\* "Mr. Homer Folks, former Commissioner of Public Charities of New York, although questioning the feasibility of public relief to the poor in their homes, favored before the Committee the granting of pensions by the city to widows with children, provided the mothers meet certain standards as to character. He emphasized, however, that this relief should not be regarded in any sense as charity to the widows, but that it should be done on a basis, so far as practical, to take it out of the realm of charity and approach as nearly as possible to an indemnity for the earning capacity of the husband, so that the mother may be enabled to bring up her children as they would have been brought up had their father lived and worked for them."

The majority and minority reports of the Royal Poor Law Commission of Great Britain, famous for their disagreements, agree fully that the widow with small children is in need of special care and separate treatment.

Thus the majority report states that:

"Every case of out relief to widows should have special and individual attentions."

While the minority report concludes:

"That abolition of out relief to the non-ablebodied is impractical and contrary to public interest. There are a large number to whom assistance must be given, for instance, widows with children whose homes deserve to be maintained intact."

Judge Julian W. Mack, of Chicago, in outlining the demands of Social Justice, declared:

† "The child's right to a healthy normal family life is to be met, not merely by forbidding child labor and by destroying the pest-breeding hovels of the slums, but also by

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\* Report, 1911.

† Presidential Address, National Conference of Charities and Corrections, 1910.

maintaining the integrity of the family through making it possible for the widowed mother to remain at home and devote herself to the nurture and training of her children."

Despite the assertions of many of the leading charity workers of the State that it was wrong in principle and impossible in practice to classify applicants for relief and differentiate between kinds of treatment, the charity societies themselves are making a special provision for widowed mothers and are granting pensions to the extent of their ability. Perhaps as an indirect effect of the national movement for "mothers' pensions," the treatment of the widow by charity has improved steadily in the last few years, which is in itself a proof of the absurdity of these protests against classification. The duty of the State of New York to alleviate the condition of the adult poor is a debatable question, but that it is morally obligated to care for the dependent child cannot be doubted. This principle has always been recognized by our government; indeed, it is but the counterpart of its right to compel all children to be educated in its public schools.

Therefore, the purpose of the recommendations of this Commission is not to impose any new duty upon the State, but, rather, to bring the performance of an established and inherent duty to a higher standard of efficiency and adequacy that will conform with our wisest conceptions of the proper method of rearing the best citizens of the future.

\* "I think private societies ought to be free to give relief if they wish, but in a community where the law lays down that the children shall not work at all until they are fourteen or fifteen or sixteen, and where parents are punished if they allow them to do so, it is inconsistent, and works out badly, to leave what charitable care may be needed by such families solely to private societies."

"The two obligations that the law lays upon the families seem to carry with them as an indispensable corollary, the aid of the community in seeing that the children shall be kept efficient throughout the period of refraining from work.

*De Facto* we have not that condition of affairs. We have

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\* Mrs. Florence Kelley, Testimony before Committee on Governmental Aid, Third New York City Conference of Charities, 1912.

many children not physically up to the standard, and it is only necessary to visit the families in the neighborhood where I live to show that the dependent mother cannot be father and mother both, and are not, and that they are not getting sufficient relief from existing sources in proportion to their needs. The disproportion between what the city does for the children's minds and what the family can do for their bodies is very glaring and very defeating for the work of the schools."

Miss Lillian D. Wald expressed the same idea to this Committee as follows:

\* "The State says now to the children, 'you must go to school and you shall not work.' Then, does not the State practically allow that it ought to look out for the child?"

If then we concentrate our effort upon the welfare of the children whose widowed mothers are left unprovided for, we can differentiate government assistance from what is commonly understood as charity. It is difficult to find the proper terminology for such assistance. The word "pension" in this connection is unfortunate, since it implies moneys paid to the mother for having brought children into the world. Were this the basis of the contention for widows' pensions, it would have to be extended to include all mothers of all classes of society. Those who have favored the adoption of this legislation believe it to be, rather, a payment by the State for services to be rendered in the future in the proper home education of the child. Regarded in this light, such assistance is very properly restricted to those families of which death has claimed the natural protector. But though the terminology may be confusing, the principle is simple, clear, and its application productive of the desired results.

In this regard Judge Merritt W. Pinckney of the Juvenile Court of Cook county, Illinois, the creator and administrator of the largest mothers' pensions bureau in America, said:

† "I would repeat today that the proper enforcement of the Funds to Parents Act means healthy, normal, well-

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\* Third New York City Conference of Charities, 1912.

† Testimony before sub-committee, February, 1914.

trained, comfortably clothed and properly housed children, fathered and protected by a mother's care and love, to the end that they become intelligent, industrious, and responsible citizens, that add to the industrial prosperity of the community. I believe that no services ever rendered by any man or woman are more worthy of compensation than the vocation which involves the rearing of children, and that a citizenship which bears upon its face the indelible imprint of mother and of home, must of necessity mean in the future a great State, a great Commonwealth."

#### Limitations of Study

Moreover, for practical reasons, we have limited our inquiries to the widowed mother. In the first place, widowhood is the second greatest cause for dependency, the first being the illness of the breadwinner. Secondly, the misfortune that follows upon the decease of the poorer laborer is not caused in any way by those who must suffer. Then, too, adequate relief cannot in any way increase the number of worthy families in distress as can easily be the case with other mothers whose husbands are living. To pension desertion or illegitimacy would, undoubtedly, have the effect of a premium upon these crimes against society. The care of the family of the man who is in a public institution, whether for illness, insanity or crime, presents entirely different problems, and must be met by entirely other ways. It is a great deal more difficult to determine the worthiness of such mothers than of the widow, and a great deal more dangerous for the State to attempt relief on any large scale. The claim of the children of such families may, perhaps, be as real and as needy of attention at the present time, but the proper method of fulfilling the obligation of the State is too delicate a task to assume without much deeper study and more careful consideration than the time and money at our command permitted. It is highly desirable that this Commission be continued, or some other body be created to give attention to such families.

Lastly, the problem of the widowed mothers with dependent children is unique, in that care must be given the family for a long time during the entire period of dependency of the children.

There is no question here of immediate relief, or even of temporary aid; the assistance must continue on often for years. Moreover, it must be of such an amount and character that the widow may rely upon it as an asset in her struggle to bring up her fatherless children.

### **Inadequacy of Life Insurance**

Every thoughtful citizen endeavors to provide either through investment or insurance for the adequate care of his family after his death.

The widowed mothers who are at present suffering such cruel and undeserved hardship, and who would properly come under the consideration of a system of government assistance, are those whose husbands, whether because of illness, inefficiency or unemployment, were unable to make such provision.

Mr. I. N. Rubinow, the noted actuary, proves that insurance for workers of the economic condition in which are situated most of the families in whom we are interested in this investigation, is impossible because of its excessive cost. In his book he says:

\* "This cost is due to the higher assumed mortality for such workers laid down by the insurance companies; the lower average of insurance; and the result in greater proportionate administrative cost, which is further aggravated by the almost overwhelming expenses of the weekly collections which are the usual rule in these so called industrial policies."

Most society and lodge insurance, which is all that many workers provide, is a death policy which covers little more than the expense of the funeral. Even where the husband leaves a policy in a regular insurance company, the amount rarely covers more than the cost of burial and of medical attendance during the last illness. This is proven by the statistics embodied in Richmond and Hall's Booklet, published in 1913 by the Russell Sage Foundation.

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\* Social Insurance, 1914.

## \* INSURANCE LEFT TO WIDOWS

Amounts of Insurance	Under \$500	Widows
Under \$100.....	.....	49
\$100 and under \$200.....	.....	142
\$200 and under \$300.....	.....	84
\$300 and under \$400.....	.....	24
\$400 and under \$500.....	.....	14
Total . . . . .		313
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\$500 and under \$1,000.....	.....	60
\$1,000 and under \$1,500.....	.....	22
\$1,500 and under \$2,000.....	.....	1
\$2,000 and over.....	.....	16
Information lacking as to the amount....	.....	13
Grand total . . . . .		425
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The small insurance policies which are carried by the poor have sometimes been called "funeral insurance," for they seem so often to be chiefly for the sake of meeting the expenses necessary for a respectable burial. The cost of the husbands' funeral in 237 families is summarized as follows:

COST OF THE HUSBANDS' FUNERAL IN THE 237 FAMILIES IN  
WHOSE CASES THIS WAS GIVEN

Cost	Under \$100	Funerals
Under \$25 .....	.....	3
\$25 and under \$50.....	.....	9
\$50 and under \$75.....	.....	28
\$75 and under \$100.....	.....	46
\$100 and under \$200.....	.....	133
\$200 and under \$300.....	.....	17
\$300 and over.....	.....	1
Grand total . . . . .		237
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\* A story of 955 families known to charitable organizations in 1910.



It is interesting to compare what these funerals cost with the total resources left to the women at their husbands' deaths. In this comparison, 32 families whose total resources were \$500 or more have been excluded.

#### COMPARISON IN 205 FAMILIES

Resources . . . . .	\$33,337
Cost of funerals . . . . .	21,881

Thus, approximately two-thirds of the insurance was used for funeral expenses; in almost all cases, moreover, the rest of the insurance must have gone for the incidentals needed during the last illness.

That in 64 per cent. of these families the funeral expenses amounted to more than \$100 is interesting to note because of the following regulation in the new Workmen's Compensation Act of New York, which says:

\* "Death Benefits.—If the injury causes death, the compensation shall be known as a death benefit and shall be payable in the amount and to or for the benefit of the persons as follows:

"1. Reasonable funeral expenses, not exceeding \$100."

Dr. Edward T. Devine, as a result of his inquiry of Widows' Pensions, finds that:

† "Much more than half of the families have some life insurance, but a scant dozen — less than one per cent. — have more than enough to meet the funeral expenses and accumulated petty debts, which are regarded as a first claim on an insurance policy, though they might not be so legally. While life insurance may therefore be said to be the rule, it is in effect generally but a burial insurance. In the few instances where a sum of over \$500 is available, after such imperative expenses have been met, it is more frequently than not badly invested and quickly lost. A change of system

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\* Workmen's Compensation Act. Enacted 1914.

† Report to Executive Committee of Special Conference, 1914.

whereby the amount of the insurance would be commuted into weekly or monthly payments over at least one or two years, while adjustments are being made to new conditions, would be clearly beneficial."

After the burial of her husband, then, the widow is left practically penniless, and must face the problem of supporting and mothering her dependent children at one and the same time. It is difficult enough to provide a suitable home amidst the ominous dangers of disease and vice that surround the congested neighborhoods of our cities and the desolate sections of our rural districts in which these mothers are forced to live — it becomes impossible for even the finest widowed mother to do so when she must also become the breadwinner.

Richmond and Hall furnish the following table:

LENGTH OF THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE HUSBAND'S DEATH AND  
THE WIDOW'S APPLICATION TO SOME SOURCE FOR CHAR-  
ITABLE ASSISTANCE

Period	Widows
Under one year:	
No period (i. e., under treatment by the societies at man's death).....	171
Under three months.....	288
Three months and under six months.....	113
Six months and under twelve months.....	107
	<hr/> 679
One year and under two years.....	102
Two years and under three years.....	60
Three years and under four years.....	41
Four years and under five years.....	25
Five years and over.....	50
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Total.....	957
Information lacking.....	28
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Grand total.....	985
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\* "Over two-thirds of the widows above considered gave up their struggle for entire self-support within one year after the loss of their husbands; while 50, at the other extreme, did not apply for charitable relief until five years or more afterward. Beyond these latter is, of course, a group which does not appear at all in these tables, but which constitutes an important class among the poor—the widows who have it in them to get along independently or whose connections have in them to see that this is accomplished."

Let us consider at this point just what resources are open to the mother who, upon her husband's death, must provide for her family through her own efforts.

## CHAPTER II

### Alternatives Open to Widowed Mothers

There are to-day four alternatives open to such women; all of which tend to break down the physical, mental and moral welfare of the family, rather than to conserve it as the most precious asset of the community.

The Special Committee on Widows' Pensions of the New York Neighborhood Workers' Association stated that:

† "The death of the wage earner brings many a family to the line of dependency. Heretofore we have either forced the mother of such a family to seek work outside or bring it into the home, or we have relieved her of the burden of the support of her children by placing them in public institutions or in other private families. All four methods are ineffectual and costly, and in most instances serve but to add to the misery and degeneracy of those from whom death took their natural protector. For years, the private relief societies have striven to relieve the distress of worthy widows but despite their most valiant efforts such relief had admittedly been inadequate. Thus even in those exceptional cases in which a plan of family rehabilitation can be worked out and put into practice there is not sufficient money to make unnecessary the use of these other makeshifts. As a

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\* A study of 985 families, Russell Sage Foundation, 1913.

† The Survey, March 15, 1913.

consequence, society has almost forced the widow to earn sufficient for her children's training at the cost of the home, or to drive from that home the children whom she should train."

We shall take up these four alternatives in succession and show that our own inquiry leads us to the conviction that the above statement of the Association of Neighborhood Workers in no way exaggerates the failure of them all to solve the problem of the conservation of the home life of fatherless children.

We shall first consider then the question of work in the home, which still forms such an important and dangerous part of the manufacturing life of our large cities.

### 1. HOME WORK

All industrial work in the home tends to degenerate family life. Yet it is found that widowed mothers often resort to home work in the effort to keep away from the charities, or to supplement the inadequate doles received from them either on the advice of the friendly visitors from the charity organizations or on their own initiative. The existence of conditions of home work and the results and the widespread evil usually resulting therefrom are well characterized in the following excerpts from the chapter on "Manufacturing in Tenements" from Volume 1 of the Second Report of the New York State Factory Investigating Commission, issued 1913.

#### SECOND REPORT OF THE FACTORY INVESTIGATING COMMISSION 1913, VOLUME I

##### Excerpts from Chapter on "Manufacturing in Tenements"

"The Commission's investigators reported that there are solid blocks in New York where, by actual count, more than three-fourths of the apartments contain home finishers."

##### COMMUNITIES IN WHICH HOME WORK IS FOUND

A very large proportion of the licenses issued for home work are in New York city; that is, 11,691, as compared with 520 outstanding in the remainder of the State on June 30, 1912. The reports of our investigators show, however, that

home work is by no means confined to New York city. They found home workers engaged in rope-splicing and button-carding in Auburn; finishing men's clothing in Buffalo; carding buttons in Lockport; carding hooks and eyes in Niagara Falls; making paper boxes and cigars, sewing buttons on shirts and mending malster's bags in Tonawanda; finishing men's clothing, carding buttons, hooks and eyes, working on children's moccasins, women's neckwear, paper boxes, novelties, sanitary belts and druggist specialties, making seedman's paper bags, fringe and passementerie in Rochester; finishing men's clothing, making willow baskets, sewing fancy trimmings on waists and crocheting infants' jackets and women's shawls in Syracuse; finishing men's clothing and crocheting edges of knit underwear in Utica; trimming felt slippers and stitching gloves in Little Falls; trimming felt slippers in Dolgeville; running tapes in knit underwear in Herkimer; making and trimming gloves in Gloversville; making brushes and working on collars and shirts in Troy and Cohoes; and making willow plumes in Yonkers.

Long as this list is, it probably is not long enough to show actual conditions. As the investigation was made between May and August, the slack season in many of these trades, comprehensive data could not be secured. The significant fact, however, was that home workers in the up-state cities live in dwellings which house one or two families, thus not coming within the scope of the law regulating "tenement manufacture," since a tenement is legally defined as the dwelling place of three or more families.

Thus, the law designed to regulate home work does not even apply to a large number of home workers, who work on products not named in the law, or who live in houses not legally tenements.

Among working families our investigators found many cases of impetigo, a loathsome skin trouble, which is contagious, and practically due to dirt. A child whose face and hands were sore with this eruption was seen playing with

a felt slipper just manufactured. In another instance a child with this disease was lying on a bundle of finished clothes, while in a third case a little girl suffering with impetigo was picking nuts for a factory.

Doctor Anna S. Samuels, who has been a practicing physician since 1876, and who is now in charge of the outdoor practice of the New York Infirmary for Women and Children, said: "I have found during the past year 182 families, 79 with contagious diseases, doing this tenement-house work. One family was embroidering monograms and three of the children were sick with measles. The woman was embroidering monograms on table napkins. I found sixteen cases of scarlet fever during the entire time. Where they had scarlet fever most of the people were finishing men's clothing; that is, doing all the hand sewing that is done on men's coats and trousers. The children had scarlet fever. The work was being done in the same room where they were sick and during the convalescence of the child, sometimes while the child was peeling. The law requires us to report every one of these cases — the notice of the Board of Health of a contagious disease was on the door while the work was going on. I found nine cases of tuberculosis among the 182 families, all of them working. Tuberculosis can be carried. There was one family where they were making buttons for women's clothes; that is, covering buttons for women's clothes. One of these children was three years old; the mother had tuberculosis. The mother was working herself and the children were working. I found two cases of poliomyelitis, an infectious paralytic disease of children. The exact nature of how that is carried is not known. It is contagious from child to child. It is a very horrible disease. I know one case where the child died, and the woman hardly stopped her work while the child was dying. She was finishing trousers. I was present at that time.

Q. And the child was dying? A. The child was dying.

Q. And the woman did not stop work? A. She could not."

Dr. S. Adolphus Knopf, professor of diseases of the lungs at the New York Post-Graduate Medical School, said:

"We spend millions of dollars annually in this city and other cities for the cure of tuberculosis and we spend that money in vain, because by our deficient laws regarding proper housing, regarding child labor, regarding labor in factories and homes. We produce consumptives every day anew, and all the millions of dollars spent for their cure and care is useless."

It seems evident that home work is a danger to the health of the community and that the effort to maintain proper sanitary conditions is so herculean a task as to be wholly illusory as a safeguard of public health.

The government report on condition of woman and child \*Wage-Earners in the United States, vol. 2, p. 230, reads:

"It is the opinion of the agents of this investigation that all children of a household where home work is done are drafted into this work with more or less regularity after school, at night and on Sundays."

† Dr. Josephine Baker, Director of the Division of Child Hygiene of the Department of Health in New York, testified regarding the effect of home work on the health of school children. She explained that a large number of the children in the public schools suffer from some physical defect and these defects are due very largely to the condition of their home life—lack of proper ventilation or of proper hygiene, of play and proper exercise.

When asked why work after school hours might cause ill health or physical defects in children, she replied:

"Because the children are just at the age when they are naturally developing and growing, and when they need a larger amount of free air and more freedom than adults do, and the effect of bad air, close confinement and vitiated atmosphere are very much worse for children than they can

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\* Report on condition of women and child wage earners. U. S. Dept. of Labor, 1913.

† Report of New York State Factory Investigating Commission, Vol. I, 1913.

possibly be for grown people. These children go to school in the morning, are heavy, dull and tired. They are not able to study. They suffer from headaches and most of them have malnutrition — that is, they suffer from lack of proper nutrition — they are anaemic.”

Testimony was given by the Chairman of the Scholarship Committee of the New York Child Labor Committee that:

“A large part of truancy is due to the fact that the child starts working at home, at first after school hours. He finds that it is difficult or impossible to keep up in his studies to the required standard, and then gradually drops out of school.”

Evidence of the relation of early toil of these children to delinquency in adolescent years was presented by Miss Maud E. Miner, Secretary of the Probation Association:

“I have seen girls from these homes who have been leading lives of immorality and prostitution. I have known of girls who have told me that they have become tired of work long before it was time for them to go to work (in other words, before they could go out into the factory) simply because they had to work in the home day after day, night after night, and on Sunday.”

Homework is a menace to the physical, mental and moral well-being of children.

### Unrestricted Hours of Labor for Women in the Home Work System

Section 77 of the Labor Law prohibits women from working more than nine hours in any one day or more than fifty-four hours a week in a factory. It further provides that if a woman is employed in two establishments consecutively within twenty-four hours, the total number of hours of labor in both places of employment must not exceed the total legally permitted in a single factory. A home in which manufacturing is carried on is not a factory in the eyes of the law. The fifty-four hour law, therefore,

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\* Report of New York State Factory Investigating Commission, Vol. I, 1913.



does not apply to work done in tenements where workers can be engaged in factory work to any hour of the night.

That the hours of work of women employed only in home work are not limited by law is an obvious fact. That women and girls who toil in the factories by day may legally take home work at night shows how home work frustrates the intent of the fifty-four hour law.

\* Mandelino Vitrani, a home worker, twenty-eight years old, told the Factory Commission about the pay which she receives for running in ribbons and sewing buttons on corset covers:

"For sewing buttons and one line of ribbons on a dozen, six cents; if there is two lines of ribbon, nine cents for a dozen.

"Q. How many dozen do you make a day? A. It depends on as many as I get; sometimes ten dozen, sometimes eleven; also depending on the number of yards of ribbon I must sew.

"If I have plenty of work, a dollar, as a rule; fifty cents or seventy-five cents, I make in one day. I can't work all day, but I do as much as I can. I have other duties, household duties, etc. The day I made a dollar I worked until eight or nine or ten o'clock at night."

Miss Lillian D. Wald, of the Nurses' Settlement, director of the work of eighty-five nurses who visit the sick in their homes throughout Greater New York, gave the following testimony:

"In all these cases where there is no man in the family, or where the man is sick and unable to work, the family, even with the children working, is not able to support itself. They have to be helped by charity anyhow. It is only a question of degree of help."

Professor Felix Adler said:

"I can see no way, I must admit, of devising a system of inspection which will really control the sanitary conditions and labor conditions of work done out of sight, done in the homes of the workers, and the conclusion would seem to me that we must move forward through the prohibition of this kind of work altogether."

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\* Report of New York State Factory Investigating Commission, Vol. I, 1913.

Miss Pauline Goldmark testified:

\* "I don't suppose there is any way of regulating or supervising home work, or keeping the children out of it, except getting it out of the homes by prohibiting it altogether. I do not see why any set of manufacturers should have the advantage of such savings on rent and on wages and then put the State to such great expense to regulate and to inspect 10,000 homes. Also, we might add, to maintain these people when they break down. Naturally, if the workers are not making their living wage, somebody has got to pay the difference sooner or later."

Until home work is abolished, however, we must realize that it is perhaps the favorite resort of the widowed mother with dependent children, since it offers her some chance of being together with her very small children, even under the frightful conditions which the scientific investigation of the State Factory Investigating Commission has shown to exist.

The problem of home work is intimately related with the problem of congestion and the evils resulting therefrom. There is a vicious circle; on the one hand dwellers in congested districts do home work, on the other hand, home work can be done practically only in the congested districts, which cluster about these factories which employ home workers.

The occupations which lend themselves to home work involve long hours, unsanitary conditions and child labor, and offer a return that is pitifully inadequate to the needs of the families. The danger of spreading contagious disease is ever present, the injury to the health and morals of the family itself is inevitable. Experience proves that washing, sewing, finishing of clothes or other home work, cannot but result in harm to the individual group and to the community at large. Nor is it ever possible for an indigent widow, no matter how hard she struggles, and if she uses the labor of her children, to earn sufficient to support a family above a standard of living so low that it constitutes a great menace to society.

Let us now turn our attention to the second of the alternatives open to the widow who must provide for her little ones.

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\* Report of New York State Factory Investigating Commission, Vol. I, 1913.

## 2. WORK OUTSIDE THE HOME

Work outside of the home is equally deleterious to the health of the mother and to the moral welfare of the children. The few widows who are skilled enough to work in a large store or factory are paid the same miserable wages that are given to most women in industry. Mr. I. N. Rubinow, in his treatise on Social Insurance, states that 77 per cent. of the deaths of the heads of families are at a premature age, *i. e.*, before the children are ready to work. Widows, who furnish only one-tenth of the population of the United States, form one-sixth of its working women. The widows with whom this report is concerned are broken down physically, through age and the struggles of married life, on account of low economic conditions and are suitable only for very unskilled employment, even when they can enter industry.

Richmond & Hall furnish the following table:

## \*AGE OF THE WIDOW AT HER HUSBAND'S DEATH

Years of age	Widows
Under twenty-five .....	36
Twenty-five and under thirty.....	123
Thirty and under thirty-five.....	252
Thirty-five and under forty.....	253
Forty and under forty-five.....	165
Forty-five and under fifty.....	77
Fifty and over.....	18
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Total . . . . .	924
Information lacking.....	61
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Grand total .....	985
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Their wages, consequently, are so low that the State of New York, as well as many other States in the Union, is inquiring into legislation that will forbid these low rates of compensation and fix by law a minimum wage which will be higher than that usually paid at present.

\* A Study of 985 Widows, Russell Sage Foundation, 1913.

Dr. John Lovejoy Elliott spoke of the employment office managed by the Hudson Guild, a settlement in New York City. He said:

The Employment Bureau for cleaning women at the Hudson Guild has, during the past year, secured places for 542 women. Of this number 231, or 42½ per cent., were widows.

The chief single cause for taking these women out of their home and away from their children is that of widowhood.

The average pay for all the different sorts of cleaning is \$6.08 a week. A woman who has steady employment gets \$6.31 a week.

A woman who works in an office or factory building for a few hours in the morning and then returns again in the evening gets on an average, \$5.60. However, in many individual cases they get less; \$5.60 is the average.

The women who work for 8 or 10 hours at night as cleaners get on an average \$6.35. All of these women have children — most of them very young, and a part of their wages has to go for pay at day nurseries, leaving only a pittance for rent, food and clothing for the family.

Richmond & Hall present the following table:

**\* WEEKLY EARNINGS BY WIDOWS WHO DID WORK OUTSIDE OF THE HOMES DURING TREATMENT BY THE SOCIETIES**

Weekly earnings	Widows
Under \$2 .....	15
\$2 and under \$4.....	143
4 and under 6.....	201
6 and under 8.....	106
8 and under 10.....	19
10 and over .....	6
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Total . . . . .	490
Information lacking as to the amount of earnings.....	78
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Grand total .....	568
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\* A Study of 985 Widows, Russell Sage Foundation, 1914.

The average of these earnings is \$4.97; the inadequacy of this amount speaks for itself. Dr. H. B. Woolston, who as director has conducted an investigation into wages for the New York State Factory Investigating Commission, reports that in the confectionery industry out of 5,020 women, 260 are widows with an average wage of \$6 per week. In the paper box industry, another favorite industry for unskilled women, out of 5,917 women studied, 230 are widows with an average wage of \$8.21 per week. This latter represents, perhaps, the high-water mark in the wages for such workers.

If the current rate of wages is dangerously low in the case of the married woman and the single girl, whose earnings are supplemented by the men in the family, how much greater is the danger because of an inadequate income for the widowed mother who must depend upon her meagre earnings for the entire support of her family?

#### **Day's Work and Its Social Results**

The vast majority of widows, however, who would properly come under the operation of any plan of government aid, are unable physically and mentally to enter into the routine phases of industrial life. Most of them are well along in years and are broken down in health through child birth and the endless stress of making both ends meet. They earn a living largely by washing, scrubbing, office cleaning and sewing.

Dr. Edward T. Devine, in his report on the status of dependent widows with dependent children states:

\* "It is precisely in the families of the widows who need help that the severest pressure is felt from their present unregulated, irregular and underpaid employment. Yet the women are not fit for any other employment; they are untrained, inefficient and industrially incapable. So far as the self-support of widows who go to the charitable societies is concerned, the conditions of their employment can be described only as unsatisfactory in the extreme. These women are engaged mainly in unskilled capacity for which

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\* Report of Executive Committee of Special Conference, 1914.

the wages are low, the hours long, the physical strain severe and the inducements to exceptional skill or efficiency conspicuously lacking."

In these trades, if they can be so dignified, conditions compel the hardest labor and the worst hours for the smallest remuneration, as has been shown above.

Dr. Devine says further on this point:

\* "Office cleaning and some other work of charwomen is hard because of the back-breaking, knee-destroying positions which it demands; because of the indecency of requiring women on hands and knees to clean up the expectorations, the cigar stubs, the tracked-in-mud and other refuse of those who come and go in public halls and stairways; because of the often exceedingly inconvenient division of the working day into two parts; and finally, because women employed in this work are paid less than men cleaners. The wages paid vary considerably, and there are some large office buildings in which every consideration is given to the home demands upon the women, not only in adjusting their hours, but in determining wages. It is true also that numerous unsuccessful attempts have been made to devise mechanical means of doing this cleaning, and that, temporarily at least, it would be a great hardship to many earning mothers if, by the success of such attempts, this kind of employment should be eliminated. But it is not unlikely that the substitution of mechanical cleaners would be greatly expedited if superintendents of buildings were no longer able to employ six women for the price of three men.

"Going out for day's work in families that can afford to pay a dollar and a half a day is, on the whole, the most popular occupation open to these women. Such opportunities exist largely because of the transitional and unsatisfactory conditions of domestic service as a whole. But they are constantly interrupted by the migration of employers in the summer and by their desire for economy, as shown by having the washing done only once in two weeks in the

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\* Report of Special Committee, 1914.

winter, or by asking the employee unexpectedly to leave in the middle of the afternoon, perhaps after finishing the washing and ironing, so as to save one-third of the day's wages. There is a brighter side in the relation which often springs up between the families thus brought into contact. Frequently it becomes one of mutual respect and even intimate acquaintance. The gifts of clothes, food, etc., which go along with the day's pay for such work frequently become an important item in the working mother's income, and instances occur in which favors quite as readily flow in the other direction. This kind of friendly visiting and personal service is one of the distinct offsets to the generally chaotic, irregular, and uncertain conditions in this particular field of employment."

Miss Katherine B. Anthony presents the following:

\* TABLE 16 — LENGTH OF WORKING DAY OF 159 WAGE-EARNING MOTHERS EMPLOYED BY THE WEEK

LENGTH OF WORKING DAY	MOTHER WHO WORKED EACH SPECIFIED NUM- BER OF HOURS PER DAY	
	Number	Per cent
Less than 5 hours.....	7	4.4
5 hours and less than 6 hours.....	25	15.7
6 hours and less than 7 hours.....	11	6.9
7 hours and less than 8 hours.....	9	5.7
Total less than 8 hours.....	52	32.7
8 hours and less than 9 hours.....	29	18.2
9 hours and less than 10 hours.....	48	30.2
10 hours and less than 11 hours.....	25	15.7
11 hours and over.....	52	3.2
Total 8 hours and over.....	107	67.3
Total.....	159	100.

\* "When one considers the amount of work done by these women in one day — the washing, ironing, house cleaning, mending, dressing and feeding the children, in addition to the day's work outside, one realizes that it is a working day without a leisure moment.

\* Mothers who must earn, Survey Associates, 1914.

"It might be supposed that the short-day workers are engaged in the better paid occupations — that they are performing some kind of mental labor rather than manual labor and receiving a correspondingly higher reward. But this is not the case. The character of the work done by the short-day and long-day workers is much the same. Both are limited to the occupations open to women without education. We find some of them for instance, working five hours a day in a restaurant for \$4.50 a week, and others working ten hours a day for \$6.00. Office cleaners working between five and six hours daily earn \$5 a week, while scrubwomen in department stores work between eight and nine hours and are paid \$6. The explanation does not lie in difference of occupations. The reason seems to be that a premium is placed on regularity and punctuality out of all proportion to the actual amount of labor performed or services rendered. In order to secure the daily presence of the women within certain stated hours, the employer is compelled to pay almost as much as if he wanted them to work the whole day through. He must pay a minimum to insure his system.

\* "Under the circumstances, then, why do any of the women cross the eight-hour threshold, when it means only a dollar additional? The answer for most of them lies in the value of the dollar. After all, the difference between a five-dollar and a six-dollar budget is enormous if the mother is the sole wage-earner."

#### THE EFFECT ON THE HOME

Serious as are the conditions in these forms of unskilled, unregulated labor, they become an even more serious menace to the State in view of the fact that the mother is forced out of the home at the very hours when her children need her most, and is so worn out by her daily struggle that she is unable, even when she is at home to give them the proper care and attention. When the widow is called upon to assume the double burden of breadwinner and housekeeper, she is asked to do too much. When any one of these phases of her work must be neglected, it is the side of nurture and personal care which is of necessity slighted, since

\* Mothers who must earn, Survey Associates, 1914.



the dollars and cents that are to pay for the daily meal and the weekly rent must be found, while the discipline and coddling can be deferred.

Misses Breckenridge and Abbott tell us:

\* "In addition certain figures emerge through all classifications. Of these, none is more often met and certainly none can be more appealing, than that of the working mother. Into her lap ill-fortune has poured calamities that have crowded out her children.

"The children get ahead of her because there is no one to look after them in the hours when they are not in school. To one familiar with poor neighbors, with the records of charity offices and of the Juvenile Courts, there can be no question that a mother cannot be expected to succeed in her duties of keeping her home and children while she uses up in earning money, time and strength, all of which are needed to discharge the more fundamental duty."

This enforced neglect leads to waywardness, delinquency and degeneracy. Miss Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, in an article on "Neglected Widowhood in the Juvenile Court" says that:

† "Almost inevitably the fact that the mother goes out to work means that the home is cheerless and untidy and that the children are given every opportunity to stay away from school and live that life of the street which is at once so alluring and demoralizing. It is significant that the court records — The Juvenile Court of Chicago — show that 23 per cent. of the boys and 25 per cent. of the girls who come before that court are fatherless. Most of these children were left alone all day while the mother went out to work. Exposed, too, to special and great temptations, are the children of scrub women who clean offices at night. For, as the streets grow more fascinating, when the lights along 'the avenue' make the cheap theatre and low resort more attractive, and the darkness casts its spell of excitement everywhere, so, in a greater degree, do the dangers of the street multiply for the boy and girl who wanders there."

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\* The Delinquent Child and the Home. Breckinridge & Abbott.

† American Journal of Sociology, 1912.

The Massachusetts Commission for the Investigation of the White Slave Traffic, which has just concluded its labors, reported as follows:

\* "Practically all prostitutes come from families in adverse circumstances. In 29 per cent. of the families, the mother was obliged to work out of the home during the upbringing of the child. In 30 per cent. either one or both parents had died or the family had been broken up by separation or divorce before the child was twelve years old."

As a minor incident in this problem of the work outside of the home available for the widowed mother it is interesting to note that two of the larger charitable societies of New York City have their own workrooms in connection with their own day-nurseries and give employment to the widows under their care.

Dr. Riley said:

† "The Brooklyn Bureau of Charities has for good or ill put a great deal of emphasis upon the maintenance of industrial agencies called the agencies of self-help for families that apply to the Bureau for help.

"We maintain the laundry, workroom and day-nurseries, as agencies of help, and we limit their use to widows or deserted women with children. These women get from seventy cents to one dollar and ten cents a day."

The United Hebrew Charities of New York City apprentices widows in their workrooms for four weeks while they are learning a trade and pay them \$4 for a five-day week. After the probationary period they are kept at piece work at union prices and are given greater liberties in their hours than they would get in an ordinary mercantile establishment.

Besides these there are innumerable smaller societies, guilds and clubs of all sorts that give employment — generally, sewing to the widows — either in their own homes or at some central office.

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\* Report, 1914.

† Testimony of Dr. Thomas J. Riley, 1914.

We may dismiss this method of relief with the remark that it is a relic of by-gone days and cannot be continued much longer. For while at present, it doubtless helps many widowed mothers who lack the skill and strength to enter the industrial field, it runs counter in principle to all of the modern schools of thought.

Having shown that the work available to the unskilled widow outside of her own house does not permit her either to conserve her own health or the home protection of her children, we shall digress at this point and consider in passing a fundamental difference in theory that has to some extent beclouded the minds of many socially minded citizens.

### The State and the Working Mother

This question of the attitude of the State towards the working mothers is the real point at which the friends and opponents of widows' pensions separate. The extremists on the one side believe that the entire problem of the home care of the children is secondary to the industrial question of the mother and that the emphasis must be put upon a minimum wage law rather than on a pension measure. On the other hand, there are many who believe that the widow with dependent children should not be allowed to do any work whatsoever, but should be given a sufficient allowance to devote herself entirely to her family.

A representative of the Russell Sage Foundation testified as follows:

\* "We are facing an economic trend which is much deeper than any discussion of relief measures, and that economic trend is drawing women into these labor markets, whether they be married women, widows or young girls, and the idea of subsidizing women workers is standing in the way of putting through an important problem of industrial progress.

"When we talk about public relief we are simply talking about a transitory service measure, but what we have to do is to get some other service, a program of industrial education, a trade union organization or something to take its place, in the direction of collective bargaining and recognition of the right of women to be trained for their work and a demand on industry that it pay living wages to women workers."

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\* Testimony of Miss Marie Van Kleeck, 1914.

As an interesting contrast to this stands the testimony of Miss Minnie F. Low of the United Jewish Aid Society of Chicago:

"We add a little over 50 per cent. of the amount granted to our mothers by the Juvenile Court because we don't believe that the relief given is adequate. We have reached a standard in the Jewish Home Finding Society reached nowhere in the country. We don't allow the mothers to work where they have more than two children."

Dr. Edward T. Devine throws himself in with those social workers who believe that all women should work and that the Government should interfere only in order to make the conditions of her work satisfactory. In his report on Dependent Widows, he says:

\* "To the mothers themselves it seems natural, inevitable, and appropriate that they should work. Most of them have worked before marriage, many of them have worked during their married life, and that as widows they should earn a living for themselves and children is simply in the course of nature, an obvious and unquestionable obligation. What they feel is that the mother should work — not of course if she is nursing an infant in arms, or about to be confined, or if she is seriously ill, or if there is some extraordinary demand upon her in the home, such as an invalid child demanding constant attention, or a large number of very young children, and no older person in the family to look after them. Working mothers have real hardships and grievances, but that an able-bodied woman under forty, with one or two children, should be expected to earn a large part or all of her support, is not one of them. Even when there are three or four children the mother would generally scout the idea that she could not earn their living if she is given a fair chance.

*"Not the necessity of earning, however, but the difficulty of finding work is what is more apt to cause her anxiety."*

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\* Report of Executive Committee, 1914.

We have italicized the last sentence in order that it may easily be placed in contrast to the following excerpts from Miss Anthony's study of working mothers on the west side of New York city:

\* "It has been recently estimated that of the 120,000 widows and married women who work in the textile mills of Lancashire, England, 75 per cent. work because they must and 25 per cent. for other reasons. Considering that the Lancashire mills have long been the stronghold of wage-earning wives in England, the proportion of volitional wage-earners cannot be regarded as a large one. On the West Side the proportion apparently is even far below 25 per cent.

"On the whole, the reasons given by the women depend not on their personal qualities but on the condition of the family breadwinner, and correspond with the classification used in the chapter on family conditions.

"Practically all of them regard their work as compulsory and the reasons which they have as imperative.

"Too often we hear these women spoken of as if some perversity of instinct drove them to neglect their homes and go to work at the expense of their homes and children. It is for the sake of their children that they work, as mothers have done from time immemorial. The last penny of their earnings is absorbed by their homes. Visit one of them on Saturday night and see how they spend their wages. The money which the woman has earned through the week on her hands and knees is spent in the Tenth Avenue stores and comes back into the home in the form of meat for Sunday's dinner and warm new clothing for the children. She buys little for herself but the bare necessities, and even these she often foregoes."

In speaking particularly about the 370 wage-earning mothers studied in detail, Miss Anthony presents the following facts:

Group	Domestic Conditions	Mothers	
		Number	Per Cent
I	Widows .....	125	33.8
II	Deserted wives .....	40	10.8
III	Separated wives .....	9	2.4

\* "Mothers Who Must Earn," Katherine B. Anthony, 1914.

Group	Domestic Conditions	Mothers	
		Number	Per Cent
IV	Wives with incapacitated husbands.....	21	5.7
V	Wives with idle husbands .....	12	3.2
VI	Wives with husbands at work.....	163	44.1
Total .....		370	100.0

"The largest group of families was those in which the fathers were living at home and were at work. The next largest was the group of widows' families. Of the latter, more than one-third had been deprived of the breadwinner by tuberculosis — the disease which most of all exhausts the economic resources of the survivors. Of the living husbands more than 60 per cent. were under forty-five and should still have been earning. An examination of their occupations, however, showed that they were engaged in low paid work and that more than half of them were in occupations where unemployment is characteristic. Less than half of the families had children who had reached working years, and a large proportion of these, 28 per cent., were still under sixteen. As to nationality the families were principally Americans and Americanized of German and Irish, with homogeneous social ideals. All of these circumstances emphasize the fact that the primary reason why the women worked was not moral or racial, but economic. They were the wives and widows of under-employed and under-paid men and were compelled to contribute to the family whatever earning value their labor possessed."

These conditions are typical of every congested district in all the cities of the State. They would seem to indicate that grim economic necessity was the primary cause of these mothers working out, to the neglect of their homes.

The official attitude of private charity to the working mother is surprisingly indefinite. While approving theoretically of women in industry, they approve likewise of the theory of the proper home environment for children of such women. Even in

the individual case their beliefs in both conceptions create a conflict of ideas and are often tried alternatively without any sound constructive basis of philosophy.

#### THE DAY NURSERY — A DOUBTFUL PHILANTHROPY

Private philanthropy has also endeavored to meet this situation by organizing creches and day nurseries where the mothers could leave their children while out at work, and by agitating generally for the improvement of working conditions. With the limited funds supplied by persons charitably inclined, many widows are forced to leave their little ones to the less scientific if more personal care of relatives or neighbors. The institutions are well kept and the children admirably provided for. But they are institutions only and have all the limitations and failings inherent in organizations. Miss Anthony says of the two in the district studied:

\* "The women regard the day nursery as a type of institution, and as such distrust it. It must be said that the attitude of the management too often shows the strain of autocracy with which we are prone to dilute our charity. At one nursery, the hot-headed Irish mothers were always getting their baby carriages mixed and then squabbling over them. Righteously indignant, the management finally forbade them to leave their go-carts at the nursery any longer. This severe ruling made it necessary for the mother either to carry a heavy child to the nursery in her arms or to let him walk too far on his unsteady legs. For it was impossible for her to return the go-cart to her home and get to work on time."

Many also enforce religious observance on the part of the mothers, even when it may be against their own belief. Many of them are conducted by home mission societies and are run on narrow and prejudiced lines.

These are mistakes in application only and could easily be remedied. Doubtless, many day-nurseries are and all could be made to be democratic neighborhood institutions, meeting genuine neighborhood needs.

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\* "Mothers Who Must Earn," 1914.

But the entire system is, in our opinion, fundamentally wrong and unnecessary.

### **Industrial Regulation Subordinate to Protection of the Home**

The Commission is convinced that this whole discussion is relevant to the question of State aid, only if we center our attention on the widow, not as an individual, but as the responsible head of a dependent group. Whether she be allowed to work at all, and if so, what part of the time, depends not so much on her own physical resources as on the welfare of her children. We have seen that work inside and outside of the home robs the children of that mother love that is so essential to their development and for which no institution can offer a substitute. Adequate home-life is the only preventive for juvenile delinquency, and all work looking toward the betterment of society, whether public or private, must endeavor to keep the mother, who is a proper guardian, at home as a mother, rather than to improve the conditions under which she might work outside as a wage-earner.

This point of view is strongly maintained by all the leading social workers in the twenty-one states and foreign nations already granting special assistance to such women.

Professor L. T. Hobhouse of London University says:

“If we take in earnest all that we say of the duties and responsibilities of motherhood, we shall recognize that the mother of young children is doing better service to the community and one more worthy of pecuniary remuneration when she stays at home and minds her children than when she goes out charring and leaves them to the chances of the street or to the care of a neighbor. In proportion as we realize the force of this argument, we reverse our view as to the nature of public assistance in such a case. We no longer consider it desirable to drive the mother out to her charring work if we possibly can, nor do we consider her degraded by receiving public money. We cease, in fact, to regard the public money as a dole; we treat it as a payment for a civic service; and the condition that we are inclined to exact is pre-



cisely that she should not endeavor to add to it by earning wages, but rather that she should keep her home respectable and bring up her children in health and happiness."

Believing this so strongly we must show here that as a matter of fact many families are broken up and separated because of the utter inadequacy of private and public charity and its inability to put their ideals into actions. This will then bring us face to face with the third alternative to which the self-respecting widow can turn in her efforts to maintain her home and protect her children.

### Theory Versus Practice

At the Fourth New York City Conference of Charities, Mrs. Florence Kelley said:

\* "The father being dead, however, the modern theory of charity is that the mother is to be enabled to stay with her children until they are old enough to go to work. Society, having acquiesced in industrial and social conditions which have deprived the family of its breadwinner, has now the task, in the interest of the community as a whole, of making sure that the baby shall not perish of neglect while the mother tries to support the children; that the boys shall not get into the juvenile court, and that the little girls shall not be seduced or abducted during their mothers' absence at work; and that the kitchen and bedroom shall not be turned into workrooms.

"None of these things are adequately safeguarded at present, because private charity, having cut off public outdoor relief, has never been able to accomplish the task which, in its vanity, it rashly undertook; namely, affording a sufficient substitute for the supplies thus abolished."

That "none of these things are adequately safeguarded at present" even where there is public outdoor relief is testified to by Louis J. Kengott, Overseer of the Poor in Buffalo. Here there is splendid co-operation between the public relief depart-

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\* The Modern Theory of Charity, 1913.

ment and the private charities, and all relief given in the homes is granted only after the most careful inquiry and with the finest possible friendly supervision. Yet, in his report for 1913, Mr. Kengott says:

\* "I wish especially to call your attention to one feature of Municipal aid to the poor which I deem of constantly growing importance. That is, how shall widowed mothers with a family of children to support and send to school, be adequately supplied with the necessities of life? Manifestly, it cannot be done on two dollars (\$2.00) per week. This is about the highest amount that can be paid them under the present appropriations for this department.

"Under the law, of course, those mothers are obliged to send their children to school, at least, until they are fourteen years of age; and during that period they cannot work, and thus assist in providing for the family. Yet no provision is made by law for their maintenance, other than that the mother can give, during their infancy, and by the Department of Poor.

"I am of the opinion that such provision should be made for widowed mothers, who are left without means of support, either by the State or city, or both, to enable them to care for and keep together the family, and preserve their self-respect, and guide the children in their mental and religious education. The future welfare of the child and the State, it seems to me, demands it. The wisdom of the law making bodies should be sufficient to meet that demand.

"If these fatherless children are wards of the State, as the acts of the Legislature would seem to indicate, then the time is ripe, it seems to me, for the State to take a more active and substantial interest in their welfare."

Moreover, this opinion is fully concurred in by Mr. Ansley Wilcox, President of the Buffalo Charity Organization Society and a member of this Commission. While convinced that in his

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\* Report of Overseer of the Poor, Buffalo, 1913.

city commitment of children never occurs for poverty alone, Mr. Wilcox said:

\* "There are inadequate funds financially in the hands of private charitable agencies to reach out into every case of destitute widowed motherhood and consequent child dependency in the city of Buffalo."

Furthermore, similar conditions exist in all the other centers throughout the State. Nowhere is there sufficient appropriations, public or private combined, to care for the family of the widowed mother as all are agreed it should be done.

The Committee on Dependent Children of the Third New York City Conference of Charities and Corrections reported:

† "So long as the private charitable societies alone distribute relief in the homes, many persons in need of aid will continue to suffer deprivation, rather than subject themselves to the humiliation of application and to receive assistance inadequate to their needs."

The New York City Congestion Commission reported that:

‡ "Honest and self-respecting citizens hesitate to apply to any society for relief."

Whether justified or not, the poor regard the application for relief from a private organization as the last desperate resort. There is a horror of "charity" that often prevents the worthy mother from taking advantage of its help, even when her refusal brings great hardship upon her and her children. Thousands of mothers are sacrificing their health and their homes in an effort to support themselves and not fall into the hands of the "society," which they distrust and despise.

It is unfortunate that this should be so, since the money given for relief was doubtless contributed in the hope of being of real service in preserving, rather than destroying the self respect of the needy. In the smaller cities where there still is genuine

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\* Testimony, 1914.

† Report, 1913.

‡ Report, 1911.

community sentiment and true neighborliness, this spirit of friendly help is more readily attained and doubtless does prevail to a large extent. But in the larger centers, despite the efforts to have friendly visitors for each family, there is so much formality, delay, officialdom, supervision and investigation entailed in the distribution of relief, that it has offended the most self-respecting poor in the community and driven them to sacrifice everything in an endeavor to be self-supporting.

This is distinctly unfortunate from the point of view of well-meaning philanthropy. But in the eyes of the State it is a matter of far graver consequence. For, involved in this struggle for self-support, is the welfare of the family — the keystone of the State, and of the children — her future citizens. We have seen the impossibility of relieving the widowed mother of her overwhelming burden by our present social machinery. We must now turn to the grimmest evidence of our failure and read into the record the blunder — stupid in conception, and awful in result — of caring for these children in institutions after the widowed mother has broken down in health and moral courage in her pitiful attempts to keep free from “charity” and to maintain independently her home.

### 3. COMMITMENT

The separation of families because of poverty is an outrage. The commitment of children because of the destitution of their parents is a crime. Yet for years that crime has been going on in the community and little has been done to stop its practice. The public has been blind — blinded even by some of those very individuals who have undertaken its philanthropic work.

Private charity has made earnest endeavors to reduce the number of such children and should receive the hearty thanks of the people for so doing. But some of the leaders in private charity have shown a disinclination to make known the extent of this barbaric custom and to fight openly against it in a way that must meet with the severest condemnation of all.

There is no one of the many experts consulted who has argued

for the breaking up of good homes, although one witness testified before the Commission that:

\* "Half orphans are taken care of better in orphan asylums than they would be in the average home of the widow who would be the subject of State aid."

All common sense and human sympathy cry out in protest against such a conception. The care given in the asylum may be more hygienic and scientific, but it is not, nor can it ever be, better than the care of the average mother. With the exception of Dr. Berg and Mr. Edward Lauterbach, all are agreed upon this point—it is an axiom of all humanitarian and social work. Although always part of our previous conception of American life this axiom was formulated as recently as 1910 at the National Conference on Dependent Children summoned at Washington by President Theodore Roosevelt.

#### Home Care

1. "† Home life is the highest and finest product of civilization. It is the great molding force of mind and of character. Children should not be deprived of it except for urgent and compelling reasons. Children of parents of worthy character, suffering from temporary misfortune and children of reasonably efficient and deserving mothers who are without the support of the normal breadwinner, should, as a rule, be kept with their parents, such aid being given as may be necessary to maintain suitable homes for the rearing of the children."

It is perhaps unnecessary to dwell longer on this point since the truth is so universally accepted. The creation of the Children's Bureau as part of our national government, the enactment in twenty-two of our States and the agitation in twelve others for widows' pension laws, and the endeavor, earnest but inadequate, of all philanthropic bodies in New York to prevent such commitment and to keep all children, even after commitment, in as normal a home surrounding as possible, is better proof than to

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\* Testimony, Dr. Henry Berg, November, 1913.

† White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children, January, 1909.

quote excerpts from the testimony of the witnesses before this Commission who were all, with the exception noted above, in accord with this doctrine.

### The Home the Best Institution

Without in any way discrediting the splendid work of our present childcaring institutions, we believe that every mother who is a proper moral guardian must, as a right and as a duty, be given the care of her own children, and that only under her care can they receive that training which will best develop their character.

Serious charges have been made against the asylums in that the graduates become criminals and dependents in later life. No proof is available to substantiate any such claim and the Commission does not believe it true. But that there is a serious impairment to the normal development of the child brought up in an institution cannot be doubted.

The Ohio Commission reported:

\* "The institution usually does not develop the child's individuality nor give him the sort of training needed to fit him for the province of life outside the institution. There is a tendency to institutionalize the child."

Miss Anthony states:

† "Most of those who had put their children away were widows with more children than they could possibly support. They had kept at home the younger children, spreading a small income out thinking to make it nourish as many as possible, and had put the older ones in institutions. At fourteen these little hostages return to their homes and are required to take up duties and responsibilities from which their institutional life has carefully trained them away. Often the institution child doesn't know how to handle money or count change. He is thrust into industry and wage-earning. The little autocratic world he has left did not train

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\* Commission to Codify and Revise the Laws of Ohio Relative to Children, 1913.

† "Mothers Who Must Earn," Katherine S. Anthony, 1914.

him in responsibility, but now he must suddenly assume it. His mother, who has looked forward to his home-coming and his pay envelope as a relief to her burdens of work and responsibility often finds that she has leaned on a broken reed. 'I was hoping when he came home we'd have it a little easier,' says she bitterly. 'But he's no good to me.'

Mr. Edward Mandel, President of the Association of Male Teachers and Principals of New York City, said:

\* "The child at home has not the kind of lock-step discipline and that lock-step course of procedure which must necessarily obtain in institutional life. The welfare of the child is above dollars and cents, and if this proposition can be put into vogue through a reasonable expenditure or even an approximately reasonable expenditure, we feel that the best interest of the child demand that he be allowed to stay with his family. I am very, very skeptical about the future of that child which is brought up in an institution, and at any rate I can safely say that it is the experience of the teachers of the City of New York that these children are not as efficient when they are taken out of institutions and brought into schools as those children who have never been in an institution."

#### **Need for Greater Protection for Dependent Children**

Our whole system for caring for dependent children in this State must be inquired into and reorganized. Where such children have a worthy mother of their own they should be left in her charge. Those less fortunate should be entrusted under the guardianship of other families.

Private philanthropy has long recognized this principle and has endeavored to carry it into effect. Many orphanages and homes have introduced a boarding-out system, and the State Charities Aid Association has for years performed this service voluntarily. So far, only the Hebrew Orphan Asylum has carried it to its logical conclusion by paying the mother herself for

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\* Testimony of Mr. Edward Mandel, November, 1913.

the care of her own children where she is a competent moral guardian. Many other institutions, however, have reorganized upon a "cottage-basis," thus reproducing a normal life as far as it is possible with the means at their command. This is but a poor substitute for the home at best, though it is infinitely superior to the barracks of former days.

But these private efforts are too limited in scope and have too inadequate resources to relieve the situation to any great extent. Over 32,000 dependent children are now being cared for in institutions in New York at public expense. Not until the State steps in and performs this function of home finding for those orphans and half orphans who, by common law are its wards, will it really be doing anything of permanent benefit to them and to itself. The first step to be taken then must be Widows' Pensions — the other, the placing in foster homes those children whose parents are unfit guardians; and we must ever renew our pledge of vigilance along every possible route to develop the moral character of the individual and the social conscience of the community so that there shall be no further necessity of separating children from their parents.

### Causes for Commitment

It is a mockery upon the wealth and intelligence of the great commonwealth of New York that there are at present in institutions at public expense over 2,726 fatherless children committed for destitution only, and 933 others committed for the illness of the widowed mother — which research proves to be as often the result as the cause of the destitution.

The following tables reveal more of the tragedy of family separation than the mere commitment of some of the children. For not only were these children taken from their parents, but brothers and sisters were separated and no record whatsoever kept of the welfare of those who are left with the mothers. In over 73 per cent. of these families there is no knowledge of the environmental conditions of these "left at homes," and little or no effort made to supervise their education or their moral training.



† STATISTICS OF THE FAMILIES OF WIDOWED MOTHERS AT  
PRESENT REPRESENTED IN THE CHILDCARING INSTITUTIONS OF  
NEW YORK

NUMBER OF	DESTITUTION		Total	DESTITUTION AND ILLNESS OF MOTHER		Total
	Children from New York City	Else- where		Children from New York City	Else- where	
Mothers.....	1,180	295	1,483	416	73	489
Children in institutions.....	2,200	526	2,726	787	146	933
Children left at home.....	1,080	127	1,157	177	21	198

Total number of families.....	1,972
Number of children of widowed mothers at present in institutions, committed for these two causes...	3,659
Number of children in these same families left at home . . . . .	1,255

Nowhere in the State is there any authentic or thorough investigation of the circumstances surrounding the family that is in any way constructive. In New York City of course, the Superintendent has no alternative to commitment than private charity. In the rest of the State the conditions are as bad if different than this, for there is no centralized responsibility.

Mr. V. Everitt Macy, Superintendent of the Poor in Westchester county said:

\* "There were one hundred and twenty officials who had the power to commit children to institutions in my county and I have no way of knowing this until the bill for their care is forwarded me."

In answer to the question addressed to the relief officials in each county, these statistics, meagre in number, but potent in significance, were gathered:

Question. Number of children you have committed for

- (a) Improper guardianship? 70 children in 16 answers.
- (b) Delinquency? 2 children in 2 answers.
- (c) For poverty? 118 in 16 answers.

† "Compiled for this Commission by the State Board of Charities."

\* Testimony, 1914.

Mr. Macy, in a letter to this Commission, says:

\* "As soon as possible I hope to look into the family history of the 730 children now being maintained in the public institutions at the expense of the towns in the county, hoping to find the causes that bring the children to be public charges. I have no doubt that the death or injury to the bread-winning parent will be found to be the cause in many instances."

There can be little doubt therefore that in our up-state districts, particularly where there are no well-defined charitable societies, many children are torn from their mothers' arms because of poverty alone.

#### Commitments in New York City

But statistics show further that the worst conditions exist in the city of New York despite the enormous sums of money spent annually by our philanthropic agencies, and the highly efficient, complex and complete system of organized charity governing this expenditure.

In the last year, 956 children were committed through the three Bureaus of Dependent Children of the Department of Public Charities for the assigned cause of "death of father." Besides these there were also committed 1,231 children because of "illness of mother" — of whom the greater number were fatherless.

It is unfortunate that the statistics of commitment in New York city are not gotten out in simpler and more adaptable form. To determine exactly how many of the children had widowed mothers and to attempt to classify the conditions in these families was a task involving the time of two investigators for the full life of this Commission. Yet the results are worth the labor involved, since they indicate the pitiable extent to which these commitments are due to poverty alone.

In the special study of those widowed mothers who had some of their children committed through the Department of Public Charities of New York city from January 1, 1912 to January 1, 1914, it was impossible to assign any one cause as the fundamental reason for the breaking up of the homes. The Depart-

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\* Correspondence, January 27, 1914.

ment itself classifies its records under various heads, but has never made any special category for widows except the general one of "Death of Father." In consequence, it was a difficult task to separate out the cases of widowhood, and make a special study of the causes underlying the commitments. The time at the disposal of the Commission was too short to permit of the complete tabulation of all the cases in the two years from 1912-1914, but the following tables present the conditions in the first 980 such families.

*A Study of 980 Families of Widowed Mothers from which 2,021 Children Were Committed as Dependents by the New York City Department of Public Charities, 1912-1914*

Conditions in Family	N. Y.	Brooklyn	Total
Children committed .....	1,290	731	2,021
Families . . . . .	643	.....	.....
Families:			
Other children in day nurseries.....	22	1	23
Other children with relatives or friends	72	29	101
Other children discharged from institutions . . . . .	68	72	140
Mother working more than three days a week .....	223	143	366
Mother ill .....	223	124	347
Assisted by private charity.....	151	30	180

This table illustrates several points that perhaps need no further emphasis. The fact that only 180 out of these 980 families were assisted by private charities could, of course, be taken to mean that the other 800 were "undeserving," but it is fairer to assume that they were unknown to the societies at all. Otherwise our standards of worthiness must be overhigh when it bars over 72 per cent. of the children from adequate home protection. But it is more startling to realize that in these 180 families which were known to and being assisted by private charities, there was not enough relief available to prevent the commitment of some of the children and the consequent disruption of homelife.

*Direct Causes for Commitment in These Families*

	N. Y.	Brooklyn	Total
Illness of mother.....	85	62	147
Economic reasons .....	111	60	171
Mother working, economic reasons...	94	99	193
Mother sick and working.....	9	32	41
Economic reasons, mother sick.....	10	28	38
Economic reasons, mother sick and working .. .. .	....	21	21

## INTERPRETATION OF TABLES

The category "economic reasons" may at first seem superfluous since, by law, the department can only commit children because of poverty. However, it has been used here when the standard of income was so far beneath a living budget as to make it clearly obvious that there was no other underlying cause. For instance, the item "Mother Working" may mean that a woman, because of her daily task, was unable properly to care for her children, while "Mother Working, economic reasons" would indicate that the wages earned were clearly insufficient for self-support.

In all these cases the families were adjudged dependent by the officials of the Department of Charities. But in this review the cause of "economic reasons" was noted only when the poverty was indisputably the cause of the mother's applying for the commitment of her own children, and only those records have been included in this table where the conclusion as to the cause is open to no shadow of a doubt. All others in which there has been the slightest question have been discarded.

Back of these statistics stand revealed human tragedies too deep to be recorded. Modern private charity is not well enough equipped nor sufficiently organized to make such unnecessary misery impossible. It is useless to discuss standards of relief before such a showing of utter failure to provide enough to keep the home intact and the family together.

Only 35 of these 980 widowed mothers were in any way improper guardians. Only 37 of these 2,021 children could be

classed as wayward. These families reveal a problem of dependency alone — these separations are due solely to our inadequacy of charitable funds and social vision.

This assignment of causes was done by the investigators of this Commission after careful review of all the records available in the office of the Bureaus of Dependent Children of the Department of Public Charities. They evidently maintained a different viewpoint from those who made the study of 460 of these same families for the report prepared by Dr. Devine since the results are so dissimilar.

The fact that there is such a marked difference in the conclusions of these two sets of investigators is in itself significant, since it shows the difficulty of making a snapshot judgment of the social conditions in a family upon which the fate of little children is to be determined. Not until the whole problem of the dependent child is placed in the hands of a special bureau with specially trained agents, whose interests shall be solely the welfare of the children, will we be doing full justice to these innocent wards of the State.

That even this small number of children should have been committed for waywardness proves the necessity for a general recodification of our rules of commitment, since it shows that under the present system such cases are dealt with by both the Department of Charities and the Childrens' Courts, despite the well defined understanding existing between these two bodies. There can be no clearly defined line drawn between the wayward dependent child and the wayward neglected child in practice, although, theoretically, the distinction is obvious. For the neglect and the delinquency may be the result of a defect of character or of economic necessity.

That such commitments are caused by poverty is shown even more startlingly by an investigation of the records of the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children. Out of 761 families of widows whose children were committed through the Children's Court in the last three years the society found, after eliminating all those in which there was any possible question of the mother's character, that in 102 the reason for the delinquency and conse-

quent judicial commitment was wholly economic. In other words, the poverty of the mother and the accompanying necessity of her leaving the home daily to earn a livelihood, prevented her safeguarding the moral welfare of the children while her own character was without reproach.

In Appendix A we have printed the table of these 102 families in full. The reasons for the commitment are those given by the Society itself. It is sufficient here to reprint one or two cases which will bear out the stupid cruelty of our present system and force us all to a recognition of our social crime.

Case No.	Sex	Age	Charge	Source	Reasons (S. P. C. C.)
8.....	Boy	8	Ungovernable...	Church.....	Boy beyond control. Mother works out. Very good repute.
34.....	Boy	14	Ungovernable...	Mother.....	Boy ungovernable. Mother cannot properly care for him. Works daily, has very good reputation.
	Boy	7			

Society that will force a good mother such as this to earn a living and then brand the seven-year-old child, whom she has of necessity neglected, as incorrigible does not deserve the adjective civilized. A church that will permit such a condition to continue until the eight-year-old child grows so ungovernable as to deserve such a brand without helping that mother to remain at home is not fulfilling its mission.

Case No.	Sex	Age	Charge	Source	Reasons (S. P. C. C.)
23.....	Girl	6	Neglect.....	C. O. S.....	Mother finds it difficult to support family. Illness of child prevented steady employment. Reputation good.
	Girl	3			
	Boy	9 mos.			
75.....	Boy	13	Destitution.....	Private church charities.	Mother cannot support this large family. Woman is of unusual character and has made every sacrifice to keep her family together.
	Boy	10			
	Boy	7			
	Girl	12			
	Girl	6			
81.....	Girl	5	Destitution.....	Clergyman....	Mother decent, but unable to support herself and family. Two elder girls in asylum.
	Boy	9			
94.....	Boy	12	Destitute.....	Private.....	Mother respectable. Tried hard to support family but did not succeed. Received aid from relatives but found it inadequate.
	Boy	12			
	Boy	9			
	Girl	7			
	Girl	5			
	Girl	3			
	Boy	17 mos.			

Surely this is a travesty of justice; an outrage against the spirit of charity in whose name it was done. No matter what the extenuating circumstances may be, they can never satisfactorily explain away such an action.

Case No.	Sex	Age	Charge	Source	Reasons (S. P. C. C.)
51.....	Boy Boy	13 14	Begging.....	Clergyman....	Children found begging and singing in streets. Mother works away from home daily. Home condition fair. Woman respectable.
95.....	Boy	12	Begging.....	Private.....	Boy soliciting alms. Mother respectable. Works daily to support family.

Again a travesty and an outrage that must not be permitted to exist longer.

Case No.	Sex	Age	Charge	Source	Reasons (S. P. C. C.)
30.....	Boy Girl	8 2	Neglect.....	Public school..	Children delicate and sickly. Woman respectable and supports home.
57.....	Girl Boy Boy	12 6 4	Neglect.....	Waverly House.	Mother respectable. Woman and eldest girl work in factory to support family. Unable to care properly for younger children.

Whose is the neglect if not ours? Society must plead guilty to that offense and dare no longer permit the individual family to suffer because of its sin.

Again and again in these cases we find the children straying into bad company because the mother, herself respectable, cannot give them her mothering while she is forced to work for their living. Again and again we see the boys becoming thieves and worse, and the girls becoming common prostitutes because of the lack of a home and a mother. After they have learnt evil and already dwarfed their moral development we lock them up as incorrigibles or charge the honest, slaving mother with neglect. Neither the children nor the parents are at fault, but, rather, the smugness and stupidity of our present social system. Some of the cases in this table, which have been rejected, not because they

impute any evil of the mother, but because they do not distinctly note her as respectable, bring fresh proof of this common responsibility.

Case No.	Sex	Age	Charge	Source	Reasons (S. P. C. C.)
1-a.....	Girl	14	Neglect.....	Private.....	Family very poor. Mother works. Support inadequate.
	Boy	12			
	Boy	10			
6.....	Boy	13	Destitute.....	C. O. S.....	Woman too poor to care for child.
40-a.....	Bo/	4	Neglect.....	Anon.....	Woman very poor; finds it hard to care for family on meagre income of children.
	Boy	8			
	Boy	13			
	Girl	9			
	Girl	16			
	Girl	18			
102-a.....	Boy	5	Neglect.....	A. I. C. P....	Mother locked children in house. Works out during day.
	Girl	7			
107-a.....	Girl	11	Neglect.....	A. I. C. P....	Woman very poor. Takes in washing by the day. Elder boy shiftless; cannot support family.
	Boy	3			
118-a.....	Boy	10	Neglect.....	A. I. C. P....	Mother works daily. Cannot care for children properly.
	Boy	5			
	Girl	6			
	Girl	3			

What excuses can our charities offer for these cases in which they recommend the commitment? Doubtless, in their judgment, there was some suspicion of character defect. But in the judgment of the Children's Society the only fault found in the home situation was poverty and the enforced absence of the mother. The opinions of experts will always differ, but the State must not allow the family to be separated until the defect rests on more than a suspicion. The benefit of the doubt must always be given the mother.

Case No.	Sex	Age	Charge	Source	Reasons
16-a.....	Boy	15	Neglect.....	C. O. S.....	Woman works out; unable to adequately support home. No evidence of alleged intemperance.
	Boy	6			
	Boy	3			
	Girl	8			

And these children were committed and that mother found guilty of neglect by a court on an unsubstantiated charge brought up by a society organized for charity!



Case No.	Sex	Age	Charge	Source	Reasons
11-a.....	Girl	13	Neglect.....	Mother.....	Mother works out all day; cannot care for girl.
31-a.....	Boy	8	Ungovernable...	Mother.....	Beyond control. Mother out all day working.
92-a.....	Boy	9	Incorrigible.....	Mother.....	Beyond control. Mother works all day to support family.
95-a.....	Boy	8	Ungovernable...	Mother.....	Mother works away from home; unable to give boy proper attention.

The tragedy of a mother accusing her own children of 9 or 10 years of age of incorrigibility, and sending them out of her life because she is too poor to give them the proper home care is epic in heroism. The Society that will permit such a condition to continue is barren of all social consciousness.

Can anyone further doubt the inadequacy of private charity? Can it be longer questioned that some method must be at once devised whereby the widowed mother must be guaranteed an income from the community, adequate to her need, and dependent upon her value as an educator?

So long as there is a possibility of committing children on charges of incorrigibility and neglect but for reasons of poverty and overwork, there will be a lack of charity and a gross standard of justice that is inimical to the welfare of the State.

#### **A Grim Absurdity in the New York City Charter**

By a legal restriction the Commissioner of Charities of New York City may board dependent children with other families but may not do so in their own families regardless of the worthiness of the parents. In other words, he may pay Mrs. Brown for caring for the children of Mrs. Jones, whom he may in turn compensate for the care of Mrs. Brown's children. Here at last we have the final absurdity to which our present system of separating families because of poverty is reducible.

Mrs. Florence Kelley, before the committee on Government Aid, said:

\* "The correlative of our failure to make provision is found in our having 38,000 children in institutions paid for out of public funds, and I hear constantly from working

\* Third New York City Conference of Charities, 1912.

parents views on this subject presented with some bitterness. There was a man who was a teamster, taking perfectly good care of his wife and six children. He was thrown from his team and killed. Three of his children were taken from their mother and put in an institution, and then taken from the institution and given to somebody else to take care of who was paid out of the city funds for taking care of them. A neighbor of this man's, talking to me about this, expressed himself with considerable bitterness. He said, "God evidently thought that woman was able to take care of her children till Tim fell off the seat of his wagon; but the charitable people knew better, and thought the children could not be taken proper care of by their mother, but had to be given to another widow to enable her to eke out her living."

Dr. Josephine Baker, Chief of the Division of Child Hygiene of the New York City Department of Health, tells of the following instance:

\* "The mother in question is Mrs. M. T., Brooklyn. Her husband is blind. She placed all of her six children in an institution and took a position, intending to earn money sufficient for passage to Europe for herself and children. The Bureau of Charities investigated the same, as I understand, and required her to take two of her children home. When Mrs. T. protested that she could not earn a living at home, she was advised by the Bureau of Charities to board children in addition. She followed this advice and now has four children from the Home, besides two of her own. This makes a total of six children at her home. Two of her own children are at the Angel Guardian Home and two more in an Institution at Staten Island."

Fortunately, these instances are rare, but the possibility of their existence is proof sufficient of the necessity of our changing the present system of caring for the dependent child of the worthy mother.

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\* Correspondence, January 27, 1914.

Rarely can a mother commit all of her children, even when it would be most desirable. In the widowed families with 3,659 children at present in institutions, we find 1,255 left with the mother. This practice is adhered to even when cause for the separation is the illness of the parent.

That a woman is able to take care of some of her children, but not of all, can be advanced only on the ground of inadequacy of income.

Dr. Devine, in speaking on this point in his report, states:

† "Mothers cannot be summarily classified into those who can and those who cannot care for children, regardless of their number, their ages, their disposition, their health, and other modifying circumstances. A mother might give admirable care to one child without assistance and fail to give proper care to three even with the most liberal allowance."

Of course, this is true of the delinquent child, but it is not true of the dependent child. And in the main, these families who are forced to apply for the commitment of their children are inherently normal and differ from the average family only in their economic status.

Every normal mother can care for all her normal children provided there is available a sufficiency of income. It is an unfortunate practice among some of our child-caring institutions, which are necessarily limited in their accommodation, to select the children for their care, so that often we find members of the same family in several different asylums and homes.

Both of these conditions bring back to mind the old slavery days when families were broken up to be sold into bondage; then also supposedly for their own good. These divisions of the family, of course, not only break up the actual home life, but lessen the tie of family affection and tend to make strangers of brothers and sisters.

Mr. Bauer, Superintendent of the Manhattan Bureau of Dependent Children of the New York Department of Charities, stated:

\* "It has happened that in a family where three children are committed, the superintendent of a particular institu-

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\* Testimony 1914.

† Report of Executive Committee, 1914.

tion comes in and surveys these children and says, 'I will take Jennie, but I don't want George and John.' If they won't take the children we have to do the next best thing and commit them to another institution which will take them."

One further point must be brought out in the discussion of the dependent children who are at present in our institutions because of "destitution" and "illness of mother." The number of temporary commitments has already been spoken of, but is also necessary to show in how many instances the commitment lasts for a long period of years.

The State Board of Charities gives the following table for 3,429 dependent children of widowed mothers at present in child-caring institutions in the State:

Less than 1 year	1 to 2 years	2 to 3 years	3 to 4 years	4 to 5 years	Over 5 years
944	800	569	426	294	396

#### Co-operation Between Commitment Bureau and Private Charity

The private charities of New York city have an understanding with the Bureaus of Dependent Children, by which the names of all families applying for commitment are at once sent to the charities. Where the private societies have a previous record of the family, the decision for or against commitment is based largely upon it. Where there is no previous record the private societies rarely take up the matter, unless the superintendent of the bureau specifically requests them to aid in order to avoid commitment. Even then, in many cases, the societies do not render such assistance. Often, too, the private charities will agree to assist a family, provided that enough of the children are committed, so that the mother may work outside of her home and contribute partially toward the support of the family.

The chief of the Manhattan Bureau of Dependent Children said:

\* "It is understood that in every case where a mother is interviewed by our examiner and expresses a desire to keep her children at home, an effort is made through one of the various private charities to effect that end — to keep the mother and children together. But it also happens that there are sometimes so many children that private charity feels that a certain number of the children ought to be committed and then they attempt in their way to assist the mother with the remainder or balance of them."

#### **Failure of Private Charity to Prevent Commitment**

The presidents of the larger relief societies in New York city claimed that commitment never took place for destitution only.

This claim has been proven unfounded by the investigations of:

- I. The New York Congestion Commission, 1911.
- II. The Committee on Government Aid of the Second New York City Conference of Charities, 1912.
- III. Executive Committee of the Special Conference, 1914.
- IV. The State Board of Charities, 1914.

Mr. Frederick E. Bauer, Superintendent of the Manhattan Bureau of Dependent Children, testified that:

"I don't believe that any of these organizations have the money to do the work as it ought to be done. It is only a question of lack of funds on the part of the societies who refer the families back for commitment."

The president of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities testified as follows:

† "There are, doubtless, defects in the administration of private charity; it would be too much to expect that in any society employing a large force of workers and dealing with cases, no two of which are precisely alike, there should be an absolutely uniform standard. In difficult cases the best workers frequently differ as to the treatment most likely

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\* Testimony of Mr. Frederick E. Bauer, 1914.

† Testimony of Mr. Alfred T. White, November, 1913.

to secure a good result, but in no case within my knowledge that has come to the Bureau of Charities has a family been broken up by sending children to an institution unless some other reason than poverty appeared. To this policy of keeping the family together the bureau is devoted. I honestly believe that we do, except for one per cent or two per cent of errors that are made, keep every family together that comes within our knowledge."

Yet Dr. Devine in his report states that this society is the worst offender of all and that of the cases known to them in which commitment occurred, in  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent the commitment should have been prevented and adequate relief given.

Mr. Otto T. Bannard, the vice-president of the New York Charity Organization Society, testified as follows:

\* "Q. How do you feel about the keeping of the children home with the mother? A. I should hope to see it done in every case possible.

"Q. Is it being done now by your society? A. So far as possible, I think it is, but I cannot speak for knowledge.

"Q. If your society was advised of the case of a child or a worthy mother that was being committed to an institution against her will, when the mother had the mental, moral and physical capacity to take care of that child at home, if she had some more money, do you or do you not think that your society would find money? A. I believe it would, I believe it has.

"Q. Do they always do that? A. I believe it does. If it does not, I would be glad to be informed of it."

Doubtless Mr. Bannard has been informed since this hearing, for in the report of the executive committee, Dr. Devine — the secretary of this same organization — states that in 11 per cent. of the cases of which the Charity Organization Society took cognizance, commitment should have been prevented and relief given.

It is necessary to dwell on this subject of the unnecessary commitment of children because of the fact that few people are aware of the frequency with which it occurs and are content not to

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\* Testimony, 1913.

question beyond such reports as that of the executive committee of the special conference on "Matters Relating to the Care, Treatment and Relief of Dependent Widows with Dependent Children." We have already quoted from this report at length but it is necessary here squarely to take issue with its conclusions and data on this point.

Dr. Devine states as follows:

### The Commitment of Children

\* "We may now return to the first of our three original questions; as to whether children are committed who should remain with their mothers, the only reason for such commitment being the poverty of a widowed mother.

"The concensus of opinion from every group of social workers whom we have been able to consult, and the evidence of the records in the Bureaus of Dependent Children in the Department of Public Charities, is that this is very exceptional and in so far as it does occur wholly unnecessary.

"In 335 of the 460 families of widows from which children were committed in 1912 for the assigned cause "death of father," there were conditions present other than poverty which seem to justify the commitment.

"The character of the disabilities in these 335 families is indicated in the following table:

	No. of families
1. Mother ill or in an institution.....	189
2. Mother unable to control children or child incorrigible or a truant.....	121
3. Moral conditions in family unsafe, including 30 in which the mother was immoral or of doubtful char- acter . . . . .	43
4. Mother intemperate . . . . .	31
5. Mother neglectful, unwilling to keep children, unreli- able, or a deserter.....	27
6. Mother of doubtful sanity (13) or feeble minded (8)..	21
7. Child defective or in need of special care.....	23
8. Special circumstances making commitment desirable...	29

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\* Report of Executive Committee of Special Conference.

These families were classified after an investigator had visited in the homes and formed their own judgment. Several facts should be noted here.

First, that this judgment is contrary to that of the visitor of the Department of Charities and of the superintendent of the Bureau of Dependent Children on whose recommendation the commitment was made. In other words, had these "conditions other than poverty" been the real cause of the commitment, these cases would not have been included in the category of "death of father."

That "illness of mother" in his opinion was the cause of commitment in over fifty-six per cent. of the families separated for the assigned reason of "death of father" is no argument that poverty was not the real cause of the commitment. Of course where the mother is in an institution or is permanently incapacitated by some contagious disease, commitment is necessary. But this is not the condition in all the 189 families so noted. It would have been interesting had Dr. Devine pushed his inquiry farther and told us how many of these 189 mothers were working to support their families; how many were being supported or partially supported by private charity and how many were sick because of a lack of nutritious food, and the terrible strain and worry under which they were living. Which was the primary cause, the poverty or the illness?

The second criticism is the reverse of the first. Dr. Devine says further:

"It was found that there were 460 such families from whom children were received because of the "death of the father." If to these had been added the widows' families from among those whose children were committed because of the "illness of the mother," this would have added about 150 families. The purpose of this inquiry, however, was to discover whether children were committed who should preferably have remained at home with their mothers. The analysis was confined to the 460 families just mentioned, since it is assumed that commitment was doubtless advisable



in nearly all of the cases in which there was no father in the family and the mother was incapacitated by illness."

If the committee found upon its investigation that it could not rely upon the judgment of the heads of the Bureaus of Dependent children in the commitments for "death of father," and in fact found other causes than the one assigned in seventy-two per cent. of these cases, by what right did it assume that the judgment of the bureaus in the commitments for the assigned cause, "illness of mother," was correct? Would it not be fairer to assume that a similar investigation would reveal as many instances of "conditions other than illness" as were found of "conditions other than poverty"?

Dr. Devine says on this point:

"Illness on the part of mothers or their inability to control young children was recognized by our investigators as adequate reasons for commitment. In some cases such illness or inability to control may have resulted from absence of adequate relief. It is possible, therefore, that the number of children of widows unwisely committed in 1912 may have been somewhat larger than 190, but, in any case, it could not have been much larger."

Is it not fair to ask by what process of logic this conclusion was reached? A study of the abstracts made from the records of the Department of Public Charities by this Commission shows that the conclusion is not sound and that in a great many cases the illness of the mother or the waywardness was due primarily to poverty. Particularly is this true if we realize that this illness and waywardness was the culmination of years of struggle and impoverishment during which the whole family degenerated physically and morally because of the inadequacy of relief, the enforced absence of the mother from the home, the dangerous condition under which she worked, the haunting fear of becoming a pauper, and the menacingly low standard of living.

Dr. Devine finds further that in 243 of these 460 families,

commitment should have taken place because of the incompetency or immorality of the mother. This is surely a severe indictment of the judgment of the Bureau of Dependent Children, since under the law all such cases should be turned over to other authorities.

STATISTICS OF NEW YORK CITY DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC CHARITIES, 1912

*\* Commitment of Children.*

	Manhattan and Bronx	Brooklyn	Total
Number of families applying .....	5, 217	3, 007	8, 224
Number of children proposed for commitment.....	9, 759	5, 624	15, 383
Number of children approved for commitment and accepted .....	3, 058	2, 547	5, 605
Number of children approved and sent to institu- tion with mothers.....	52	34	86
Number of children disapproved unconditionally...	5, 223	2, 975	8, 198
Number disapproved and referred to private chari- ties .....	1, 426	68	1, 494
Total number of children.....	9, 759	5, 624	15, 383
Applications disapproved were disapproved for following reasons:			
Nonresidents .....	473	161	634
Immigrants .....	57	33	90
Unknown at address given.....	245	50	295
Insufficient information .....	223	8	231
Able to be paid for in full and whose parents were referred to institutions .....	235	45	330
Able to be supported at home.....	3, 313	2, 365	5, 678
Mothers referred to the several agencies to secure positions with only dependent child (number of children) .....	325	138	463
Children referred to Bureau of Dependent Adults, mentally or physically defective.....	149	80	229
Children referred to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.....	61	37	98
Children referred to Division of Domestic Relations.	92	58	150
Total .....	5, 223	2, 975	8, 198

It will be noted in this table given in the report of the Manhattan and Brooklyn Bureaus of Dependent Children for the

\* Report of N. Y. C. Dept. of Public Charities, 1913.

same year (1912) that such cases were actually turned over to the proper agencies and that the children who were committed, were accepted by the bureaus strictly as dependents.

Dr. Devine in his reports states further:

**One Hundred Widows Should Have Been Helped**

\* "In 100 cases, a little over twenty per cent. of the 460 (involving less than four per cent. of the total number of children committed in the year for all causes) a sympathetic examination of the records in the Department of Charities and in the societies, supplemented by a visit to the families when there was no society record, indicates that commitment might have been prevented by assistance at home.

"These 100 cases may be roughly classified as follows:

Mother considered capable of caring for children committed because at the time she continued to care for other children, and there is no record of any positive disability .....	73
Children who were committed subsequently discharged to their mother, no disability named.....	12
Other evidence that mother could have cared for children or that commitment was inadvisable.....	15
	<hr/>
	100
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Again we must take issue with the adequacy and soundness of this conclusion. If the first classification is sound for these seventy-three families it must be true in many others, for as we have already shown in the 1,972 widows' families represented by the 3,659 children at present in institutions, there are also 1,255 children left at home with their mothers.

It would be impossible to state in how many of these there was no positive disability, but in the great majority there is no record of such disability.

The report states:

"Again, the mothers who are actually allowed to retain the custody of some of their children are counted in our

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\* Report of Executive Committee, 1914.

estimate among those who should be aided so as to make unnecessary the commitment of any."

A review of the records of commitment in the Bureaus of Dependent Children show that a great many children are temporarily committed and later discharged from the institution into the mother's care.

It is interesting to read here the statistics of The New York City Department of Public Charities:

**\* DISCHARGE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN FROM INSTITUTIONS FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1912**

	Manhattan	Brooklyn	Total
Number of discharges of children applied for and investigated .....	1, 064	1, 762	2, 826
Of these there were:			
Approved .....	934	1, 357	2, 291
Disapproved .....	130	405	535
Total .....	1, 064	1, 762	2, 826

Those disapproved were disapproved for the following reasons:

Applicants financially unable to provide for them at home (number of children) .....	30	48	78
Home accommodations inadequate (number of children) .....	11	....	....
Applicants unknown at address given .....	7	†20	....
Applicants unfit guardians .....	22	†30	....
Applicants referred to Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children for discharge (number of children) .....	43	22	65
Applicants referred to Children's Aid Society for discharge, as names of children had been previously referred to that bureau for indenture (number of children) .....	2	6	8
Applicants referred to Catholic Home Bureau for discharge, as names of children had been previously referred to that bureau for indenture (number of children) .....	4	18	....
Insufficient information (number of children) .....	11	....	....
Total .....	130	....	....

\* Report of N. Y. City Department of Public Charities, 1912.

† Number of children.

These figures are, of course, not comparable with those in Dr. Devine's report as they include all dependent children and not only those of widowed mothers. But they are significant in that they show the continual fluctuation between the good home and the institution.

While 5,605 children were accepted for commitment in 1912 229 children already in the institution were returned to their homes after these had been investigated and declared proper. Surely this can be explained only on the ground that the families are broken up during the temporary illness or unemployment of the bread winner—in itself an economic problem. It must be remembered that these children are discharged only after the parents have been investigated so that there is no question here of character defect at all.

Therefore, if Dr. Devine is going to classify as unnecessary those commitments where the children were subsequently discharged to their mother, no disability being named, he would have to wait a year or more to see how many more than 12 of these children of widows committed in 1912 were returned to their homes.

Of the third classification in Dr. Devine's table "other evidence that mother could have cared for children or that commitment was inadvisable" we can only say of it, as also of category 8 in the table on page 74.

"Special circumstances making commitment desirable" that it is delightfully indefinite and leaves entirely too much to the imagination of the public and to the judgment of the individual investigator.

#### Who is to Blame?

Having shown that unnecessary commitments, e. g., commitments of children to institutions at public expense for no other reason than the poverty of their widowed mother, are of frequent occurrence in this State, it becomes necessary to point out the fact that the responsibility for this crime against the family rests squarely on the shoulders of the very societies who for years have been prating of the "Conservation of the family unit."

We present herewith the complete table as printed in this report of Dr. Devine's:—

\* "The following table shows the distribution of the 460 families between the Manhattan and Brooklyn Bureaus of Dependent Children and among the six societies, and also, in each case, the proportion formed by the families in which commitment probably was unnecessary and undesirable. It is noticeable that a considerably higher percentage of those in Brooklyn should not have been committed."

	NUMBER OF CASES IN WHICH				Percentage in which there should have been help instead of commitment
	There should have been commitment	There should have been help instead of commitment	Neither help nor commitment was necessary	Total	
<i>Manhattan Bureau of Dependent Children</i>					
Charity Organization Society.....	46	6	3	55	11
Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.....	34	10	4	48	21
United Hebrew Charities.....	45	9	2	56	17
Not known to any society.....	68	12	4	84	14
Total.....	193	37	13	243	15
<i>Brooklyn Bureau of Dependent Children</i>					
Bureau of Charities.....	60	32	4	96	3
Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.....	1	1	.....	2	†.....
United Jewish Aid Society.....	11	5	.....	16	†.....
Not known to any society.....	70	25	8	103	24
Total.....	142	63	12	217	29
Grand total.....	335	100	25	460	21.7

In interpreting these figures the report continues:

"This estimate that in one hundred families commitment should have been prevented by private help is not to be taken as a reflection upon the bureaus through which the children were committed, or upon the charitable societies. It is made in the light of evidence which was not always available when the decision occurred, and on the other hand some of the considerations which influenced the officers of

\* Report of Executive Committee of Special Conference, 1914.

† Numbers too small to justify attaching significance to percentage.

the Bureau who had the applicants personally before them may not appear in the case records. Aside from such facts, is is sometimes exceedingly difficult to decide upon what is the proper course. Two equally competent persons might reach opposite conclusions even on the same statement of facts."

Thus Dr. Devine fails to place the responsibility for these unnecessary commitments. The language used is temperate to an extreme degree. Far stronger was the language used in the letter written on December 22, 1908, requesting Theodore Roosevelt, then president of the United States, to call the Conference on the Care of Dependent Children to which Dr. Devine as well as other charitable experts of national importance affixed his signature.

That letter said:

\* "The State has dealt generously with her troublesome children; but what is she doing for those who make no trouble but are simply unfortunate? There are a large number of these children for whom there is need of special activity and interest. Some are orphans or half-orphans; some are abandoned by heartless parents; some are victims of cruelty or neglect. They are not delinquents; they are accused of no fault, they are simply destitute or neglected.

"Destitute children certainly deserve as much consideration and help as those, who, by reason of some alleged delinquency, enforce the attention of the State and become objects of its care; but only a few States have defined responsibility for this class of children. Their care and protection is left in many localities to the fidelity of voluntary agencies without requiring proper standards of method or efficiency, and without definite responsibility to the State or the community."

We believe the estimates of unnecessary commitments of dependent children of widowed mothers as given in this report of the executive committee are ultra conservative. Yet, even accept-

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\* Report, 1911.

ing them as correct, we feel that a grave wrong has been done these children and society in general.

The responsibility for this wrong, as well as for that of forcing the mother to overwork herself and neglect her home, must rest upon the shoulders of the private charities of New York city. In so far as their failure is due to the lack of funds available for their use, the general public is also at fault. But where the societies or their executives have maintained that their funds are adequate, and have defeated any attempt to have the government step in to perform this work, they and they alone are guilty of this social crime.

This failure is the more serious in light of the fact that the private charities have had exclusive control of the field for the past thirty-six years, and their work has been steadily growing larger and better in that time. But they have now reached the point where their standards are so high and the communities' needs so great that they are unable financially to meet their responsibilities.

Miss Mary L. Richmond, head of the charity organization department of the Russell Sage Foundation, testified as follows:

\* "I find in looking at a book that I published 15 years ago that I was on record at that time as strongly opposing the breaking up of homes because of poverty only, especially the homes of widows with children."

Yet the number of dependent children in institutions at public expense was smaller in 1898 than in 1913.

Much of this can be explained by the growth of population and immigration, but not all.

Why has not the Russell Sage Foundation done more, then, to stop this practice to which they have so long been opposed in theory?

Can it be for any other reason save that here in New York city, as in every other section of this State, in all the other States of the Union and in all the principal foreign countries, private

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\* Testimony of Miss Mary L. Richmond, November, 1913.



charity has been unable to raise the amount of money necessary to meet the needs of the community with any degree of adequacy?

#### NONE OF THESE THREE ALTERNATIVES SOLVE THE PROBLEM

Up to this point in the report we have shown how all but impossible it is for the poor to lift themselves out of their poverty under the present policy of social laissez-faire. The husband who perhaps earns too little to save, or is too sickly to earn, or is too weak, physically, mentally and morally to do either, dies, leaving just enough insurance to have a decent burial. The widow, generally over thirty and more often than not sickly and undernourished, must face the problem of earning enough to keep her children with her as well as to give herself over to their education. The effort at independence is desperate — the home must be sacrificed to the more material needs of bread and butter and a bed to sleep in. Everything must become secondary to the ceaseless struggle for a bare existence.

We have seen how neither by working inside or outside of the home, then, can the average widowed mother support her family decently and adequately without seeking assistance. There are a great many who find much help within the circle of their relatives or friends. There are also many others who cannot have this advantage, and who scorn to accept "charity," preferring to struggle on at the peril of the health and safety of their children. Doubtless, however, the greatest percentage do appeal to private charity and are assisted by volunteer philanthropic agencies.

We must therefore now consider the fourth alternative open to the widow, with dependent children — the appeal to public relief or private charity.

#### 4. ASSISTANCE IN THE HOME

Thirty-five years ago, practically coincidental with the abolition of outdoor relief in New York city, the charity organization movement crossed the seas from England and took a firm foothold in America. Not only have big charity organization societies been organized in the various large cities of the State but those relief agencies already in existence have adopted the new standards and

become much bigger, stronger and more systematized than they had been in the past. At the cost perhaps of much of the personal contact previously associated with charity, these societies have attempted to co-ordinate the philanthropic effort of the community into a highly efficient, closely centralized force for intelligent and wise relief and rehabilitation.

In the rest of the State of New York, outside of New York city, there are twenty-three such societies; but, with the exception of the one in Buffalo, they are of very recent origin and are very limited in their resources. All of them depend for the most part upon the public relief funds for their monetary aid, endeavoring to supplement it by those elements of careful investigation and wise supervision which have been so sadly lacking in the public departments and which are so essential to constructive charity. In most of the cities there is a sincere and cordial co-operation between the public and private agencies that promises much in the future development of both.

#### 1. IN NEW YORK CITY

This wise policy of mutual dependence has been recognized and followed everywhere in the State of New York, except in New York city, where all public outdoor relief was forbidden in the charter of 1878. Here the private organizations have endeavored to meet the needs of the poor in their homes, leaving to the public authorities only the care of those whom misfortune compels to require institutional treatment. This restriction was included in the charter because at that time the administration of public relief was subject to gross political corruption and inefficiency, and was causing rather than preventing dependency.

The Brooklyn Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor said at that time:

\* "The Commissioners of Charities of Kings County have distributed in outdoor relief alone, groceries and coal to the value of \$419,473.14 at an expense in distribution of \$174.78 or an average each winter of \$118,778.18. The average num-

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\* Bulletin, Brooklyn A. I. C. P., 1878, April, Vols. 1 and 2.

ber of persons relieved has been 37,570 comprised in about 9,500 families.

"The local press and all good citizens called for an enforcement of the law, justly deeming it better to give no public relief at all than to entrust its distribution to those who sought to aggravate and perpetuate pauperism. It is made clear that in this State the public funds can only be used to aid the blind, lame, old, sick, or decrepit, and these only in the poorhouses."

Mr. Alfred T. White, the founder and head of many of the philanthropic organizations of Brooklyn, paints the picture even blacker by quoting even larger figures for the same set of years.

\* "In 1876 there were in Brooklyn, according to the figures of the Commissioner of Charities, 46,000 individuals in the families receiving public outdoor relief out of a total population of 534,000. That means eighty-six in every thousand people. The annual cost had averaged \$129,000 for the previous ten years."

Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell writes:

† "In New York city the public outdoor relief has not exceeded \$65,000 yearly and has been confined to distribution of coal, of medical relief, and of a small annual cash donation to certain blind persons, all of which in the opinion of many well informed persons it would be well to discontinue, trusting to private charity to supply whatever might be required in its place."

With public relief abolished, the need of assistance was met by the development of six large relief organizations and societies besides the St. Vincent de Paul societies, which do a great deal of charitable work but do not in any way attempt organized relief nor the scientific study of family problems. The cities of Brooklyn and New York each had, and the present boroughs still have, a Jewish relief society, an association for improving the condi-

\* Testimony public hearing, November, 1913.

† Public relief and private charity, 1884.

tion of the poor, and a charity organization society, in the one instance known as the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities. In each borough the Catholic and Hebrew agencies take care of their own people, but the remaining two societies, despite the fact that they are both closely federated, overlap in their relief work and compete in their attempts to raise money. They both give relief and study social betterment, so that, although their original functions were quite different, their present fields are identical. By means of highly developed bureaus of registration they endeavor not to duplicate in their relief work, and by continuous strengthening of their organizations they attempt to bring all the sources of charity to co-operate under their direction.

There is no question that the public charities of New York city in the seventies were corrupt and inefficient.

There is also little doubt, however, that private charity in those days was quite as benighted and as superficial as this public relief, though it was surely less corrupt. The standards of constructive social work and of family rehabilitation were unknown and charity — whether private or public — consisted of giving money indiscriminately to the poor.

Since that time our private organizations have progressed in theory and technique; the public officials have for the most part stood still. But constructive work has been largely negated by the lack of funds available for thorough family treatment.

At the time that public relief was abolished, private charity undertook to meet all the need in Greater New York. For many years they have claimed success for this attempt and have opposed as unnecessary any legislation looking toward the assumption by the State of any part of their relief work. Even now that the newer standards of adequacy are accepted universally and after the charge of failure has been brought by every public and private body that has investigated the subject, there are some who refuse to face the facts and prefer to place faith in their hopes rather than in their works.

The nearer the Commission came down the scale of officialdom to the level of the people themselves, the stronger seemed the conviction that there was not enough money in the treasuries of charitable organizations to permit proper treatment of the poor.

The presidents of two large societies said they "did not know of any cases of distress that could not be relieved by them at least in respect to the necessities of life." For example, Mr. Alfred T. White, president of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities stated:

\* "Following the stoppage of public outdoor relief, the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities was organized. As there appeared then to be enough relief-giving societies in the field, the Bureau undertook at first to supplement their work by other work which was not being done. It established a bureau of information and many agencies for temporary employment, and initiated much preventive and constructive work. But the steady expansion of its work for the poor in their homes and the addition of a large body of District Nurses has in recent years brought to our notice so many cases needing physical aid that the Bureau has been obliged to solicit funds for relief as well as for service. The popular response has been such as to enable us to handle satisfactorily all cases that have come to us or been referred to us. In fact, funds are more easily obtainable for this purpose than for most, and we look confidently for a steadily increasing flow of contributions for relief."

Yet this society has for years been sharply criticized by the other charity workers for the niggardliness of its relief and has in the past six months reorganized its entire staff in order that it may bring its relief work somewhere near the standards of the other associations. It is at present engaged in a newspaper campaign for funds that does not bear out the easy confidence of the president.

Similarly, Mr. Otto T. Bannard, vice-president of the New York Charity Organization Society, stated:

\* "The necessities of life, so far as my limited observation goes, are being provided for through the private charities."

Yet this society had to borrow \$22,000 to continue its work during the current year. Moreover, this seems not to be an un-

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\* Testimony, 1913.

usual state of affairs, but heretofore the receipts have always increased in time to prevent a crippling of the work. It is admitted, however, that it is becoming increasingly difficult to raise funds from the general public and that the number of contributors is decreasing steadily.

To illustrate the utter inadequacy of relief now given we present herewith a table showing the conditions prevailing in the families of 350 widows now being assisted by the private charities of New York city.

(Charity Organization Society, Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, United Hebrew Charities, Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, Brooklyn Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, and Brooklyn United Jewish Aid Society.)

#### 350 Families.

- 160 mothers sickly.
- 148 mothers working three or more days a week, outside of home.
- 59 mothers working every day at home.
- 19 mothers with 30 children in day nursery.
- 83 mothers receiving pensions or regular relief.
- 29 mothers drunken or immoral.
- 23 mothers with 36 wayward children.
- 89 mothers with 147 sickly children.
- 72 mothers with 180 children away from home.
- 38 mothers sickly with one or more sickly children.
- 34 mothers sickly and working three or more days a week outside of home.
- 10 mothers sickly with one or more sickly children, and working three or more days a week outside of home.
- 25 mothers receiving regular relief or "pensions" and working three or more days a week outside of home.

This table is made up from the abstracts of the case records of the societies, prepared by our investigators and reviewed by the subcommittee of the Commission in the presence of the general agent of the societies and the secretaries of the districts who were personally familiar with the families. It seems unnecessary to comment further on these statistics. The cold figures do not and cannot be made to present a true picture of the complications of

hardship and suffering in these families. In no one of these cases did the relief approach the sum which the standards of living as set up by these same charitable societies demands.

The facts — the social misery and degeneration — resulting from this inadequacy of relief in these families, can be better seen in the graphic summaries, reported on later by the Honorable Mr. Robert W. Hebbard, who directed this investigation.

The secretaries of these charitable societies confessed that there were many worthy cases that never came to them, and when pressed on particular families admitted that in many instances their work failed because of inadequacy of funds applied. Settlement workers, familiar with the families who are and also are not in the care of the charities, stated that in no case was the help really adequate and that much unnecessary misery resulted from the inadequacy of relief. Representatives of the League of Settlement Mothers Clubs — tenement mothers themselves — stated that this inadequacy was so well known that a “decent woman would rather starve than go to the charities — she’d starve anyway.” The point of view of such witnesses may be less scientific than that of the faculty of the School of Philanthropy, but after a review of the case work done by the very societies which persist in their claim, it seems more nearly homely truth.

#### FAILURE OF PRIVATE CHARITY IN NEW YORK CITY

With the increasing numerical growth and racial complexity in New York City, private charity has failed, then, as significantly, if not as inevitably, as have the administrators of public relief throughout the State. In the one case this failure is due to the inefficiency of the laws under which they operate; in the other it is due to the limitations imposed by the lack of funds privately contributed to meet adequately the needs of the community. In both instances the failure has caused great misery and hardship and has reacted disastrously to the welfare of the State.

The Committee on Governmental Aid of the Third New York City Conference of Charities and Correction concluded that:

\* “The societies are unable to finance their relief work adequately. This has necessarily resulted in restricting the

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\* Third N. Y. City Conference of Charities and Correction, 1912.

amount of relief and in some instances may have been a contributing factor in the establishment of the policy that the minimum amount of relief should be given and that such relief should be curtailed or abolished at the earliest possible moment.

"We fail to find that the relief policies of the societies have resulted in such reduction of need and destitution in the case of destitute widows with children as to warrant the continuance of these policies under the present financial conditions of the societies. We are convinced that grave and often irreparable injury to widows and their children is occurring because of the present financial inability of charitable societies to relieve adequately."

Miss Viva Flaherty, secretary of the League for Social Service of the Church of the Messiah, said:

\* "It is not a matter of proof, but it is axiomatic that the present method of caring for widows and their children is absolutely inadequate. I don't see how anybody who goes through the homes, the poor homes of this city, can have any other opinion. I have been a member of the District Conference of the Charity Organization Society in New York for a short time, and a member of a District Board in Baltimore, of the Federated Charities for a time, and it is a very disheartening experience, very pitiable, to see how inadequately the cases are handled, not because organized charity don't want to do it, but it can't. *Poverty is too big for Philanthropy.* That is my opinion, my personal experience."

Miss Alice P. Gannett, in speaking for the Henry Street Settlement, said:

\* "I have hundreds of cases that are being reported to me where the assistance has been pitifully inadequate and it has meant a great loss to the State later in ill-nourished children who become public charges; and in the illness of parents and

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\* Testimony, November, 1913.



children. The secretary had a good deal of insight into conditions and very excellent ideas about the treatment of families, and they did all they could possibly to rehabilitate the families that came under their care. But the amount there was inadequate. The secretary knew that it was. We all knew that it was. We discussed the cases in committee meetings, and everyone said of course they should have more and we have not got it.

"One of the chief causes in the undermining of the strength of the widow is the worry and anxiety that she has, not only because her relief is inadequate, but because it is irregular. She cannot count definitely on so much every single week, but it is sometimes the society doesn't know just where it will get the money and she cannot plan ahead herself."

Mrs. V. G. Simkhovitch, headworker of the Greenwich House, said:

\* "I do not wish to speak in any way in criticism of existing charitable societies, but many cases have come to my attention in the neighborhood in which I live, in which adequate relief for widows' families has not been forthcoming — the relief for the widows and the children in the charge of charitable societies has not taken place. I do not say that the charitable societies could have done better than they have done; I am not in a position to say that. But I do say that no permanent benefit seems to have come to those families from the care they have received from certain charitable societies. In other words, I do not feel that the charitable societies are adequately handling this whole question of the relief for widowed families."

Mr. Robert W. Heberd, ex-commissioner of Public Charities of New York city and at present Secretary of the New York State Board of Charities, says:

† "The private charities in this and other states have done and are doing much good and I do not wish to be understood

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\* Testimony, November, 1913.

† N. Y. State Conference of Charities, 1913.

as saying anything that could possibly militate against them. But they have not now, they never have had and I do not believe they can ever hope to have the means necessary to provide adequate relief for the widow and her children. I have not yet seen a single case in which adequate assistance, whether from public or private sources, has been given to the widow and her children."

The New York City Commission on Congestion of Population reported in 1911:

"That although private charities claimed a few years ago when they opposed public outdoor relief, that they could meet the needs of the community for such relief, they are manifestly unable to meet these needs, if a decent standard is maintained among the wage-earners of the city. Honest and self-respecting citizens hesitate to apply to any society for relief, and the relief given by some of the large societies is inadequate to maintain a family and is not continued for a sufficiently long time, as admitted by some of the large societies."

That this lack of adequate funds is not limited to any one community or nation, but is inherent in the organization of philanthropy, is brought out in the following excerpts:

Mrs. Katherine L. Van Wyck, General Secretary, Central Council of Philanthropies, Milwaukee, Wis., and President of the State Conference of Charities and Correction:

\* "We must concede that private charity in all of the country has been unequal to the task of adequately caring for the whole number of dependent families."

Judge Julian W. Mack, ex-president of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, said:

† "In this section of the country private philanthropy had not administered its ability properly to cope with this prob-

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\* Wisconsin Conference of Charities and Correction, 1913.

† Testimony, 1914.

lem, and there is no class in the community which is more deserving of care than the widow with her children. It was necessary for the State to step in. We have too long been committing the crime of taking the poor woman's children away from her, simply because of poverty. It was high time this was stopped."

The Royal Poor Law Commission of Great Britain reported that:

\* "Nor can the community rely on voluntary charity providing for these cases. In many places such charity does not exist and in many others there is no warrant for assuming that it would ever be adequate to the need."

Dr. Edward T. Devine in speaking of "Permanent Relief" puts the matter rather more mildly by saying:

† "We now come to the subject which many will perhaps regard as the crux of the problem, the continued relief supplied to those families of widows, who, because of illness, or the number of their children, or any other reason, require regular and substantial assistance. All of the six societies undertake to do this according to their means. The relief which the societies supply is sometimes inadequate in amount and sometimes the basic plan upon which it is given is inadequate and ill-considered, but the instances of failure with respect to suitability of employment, fundamental health needs, attention to the individuality of children, the securing of an attractive and sanitary home, and other essentials of family life, are more numerous and more serious than the inadequacy in the amount of relief."

Again we cannot agree with Dr. Devine, for we cannot differentiate so glibly between "relief" and "suitable employment, fundamental health needs, and other essentials of a family life."

Dr. Devine, above all others, has preached the doctrine of family rehabilitation and not mere financial assistance, as being the true

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\* Report, 1910.

† Testimony, 1914.

object of organized philanthropy. He has taught that lesson well — surely now he should give the public credit for understanding and appreciating it and being willing to adapt it to their own work.

In summing up his report Dr. Devine admits:

“ That the charitable societies have shown both the desire and the financial ability to provide relief in such cases (i. e., widowed mothers who must commit their children because of poverty) when called to their attention, although in these as in other cases, the relief is sometime inadequate.”

The Committee concludes more definitely that:

“ Both in caring for the widows and their children now under their care and for those who would be brought under their care if all undesirable commitments were prevented, it is recognized that a large number of well trained visitors and also more adequate relief funds are needed.

“ It seems to us desirable that the societies concerned should promptly make an inquiry as to the additional sums needed by them to enable them to aid adequately widows and their children needing aid in this city, and should endeavor promptly to secure assurance that such income will be forthcoming as needed.

“ As to what course should be followed if the societies should be unable to secure the sum needed, the members of this Committee are divided in opinion. Some, under those circumstances, would favor the establishment of a public relief system, believing that the possible evils under such a system would be less serious than those now existing. Others would oppose the establishment of a public relief system, believing that its evils would outweigh any possible advantages.”

The Committee unfortunately, however, failed in its report to make specific mention of these unsurmountable evils of a “ public allowance,” or to offer any other alternative to the present situation.

If there was ever a time when there was an incentive for private charity to raise the funds which they claim is available for relief, it has been in the last five years. Inquiry and investigation have

followed closely on each other's heels — an awakened social consciousness on the one hand and a general alarm on the part of the wealthy over the growing claims of government on the other, has made it at once more necessary and more difficult to increase their revenue in proportion to their increased needs and standards. With the newer ideals of pensions and insurance held before their eyes by prominent charity workers, the intelligent workingman, the student, and even the contributor, is beginning to question the policies and purposes of the private charities and to look forward to the time when comprehensive social programs will make the present type of charity unnecessary.

More and more the private societies are being put on the defensive and challenged to secure sufficient money to meet their responsibilities. If they have never been able to raise this necessary sum in the past, if their standards of relief and of ministrations are becoming increasingly expensive, and if it is becoming more difficult and more costly to raise money each year what assurance has a public that they can now get such funds?

It cost the Charity Organization Society of New York \$13,000 to raise \$250,000 in 1913. The system for raising that amount is worked out most comprehensively and elaborately. Each society maintains an equally elaborate system, and as the competition between charitable agencies grows keener, these systems grow more expensive. It is needless to point out that this item would be eliminated entirely were such organizations a part of the government.

The only other way of avoiding this heavy expense is by seeking larger sums from fewer contributors or by accepting a huge endowment from some single philanthropist. As soon as a charitable society accepts either of these alternatives, it is at once held in contempt and suspicion by the great masses of the people who, justly or unjustly, regard it as the tool of the rich to allay the unrest of the poor; as an autocratic un-American organization for the subjection of the poor rather than for the prevention of poverty.

The United Hebrew Charities of New York has estimated that it would cost them \$125,000 extra to care adequately for all the families of widows who apply to them for relief. The New York

Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor figure their additional expense at \$72,755.44. Surely it is fair to estimate then that it would cost the four other societies in the city, whose relief is admittedly less adequate, at least \$175,000 more annually to raise their standard to a proper degree.

Is it reasonable to expect that the private charities of New York city, who have failed to raise sufficient money to do adequate relief work at any time during the thirty-two years during which they have had a monopoly of the distribution of relief in the home, can now suddenly get an additional annual fund of \$375,000 or almost one-half of their present budget to meet the special need of the widowed mother? Is it not more reasonable and proper to demand that the city undertake this work, believing that by taxation alone can such a sum be guaranteed?

And is it not distinctly wrong for any charitable society that believes in such adequate relief and is unable itself to offer it, to oppose further the adoption of a properly protected and wisely drawn system of public aid?

It is becoming a factor of increasing importance in social work that large endowments and gifts are being given more and more to research and investigation and less and less to relief and rehabilitation. Perhaps this is due to the present attitude of the public mind on the whole question of philanthropy; more probably it is the result of the educational campaign in which the charity workers themselves have led the community. "Deal with causes, not cases" has been the cry. And the wealthy have responded by giving their money for all manner of inquiries and private experiments, but have displayed no keen desire to bear the brunt of the cost of caring for those who are at present suffering. Thus, curiously enough, the private charities are being forced back to their original purpose of studying the causes of poverty and away from the relief work for which they improperly assumed entire responsibility.

### **Raising Money By Special Appeals**

Most charity organization societies attempt only temporary relief and depend upon appeals through newspapers and through personal letters to a selected list of philanthropists for aid in a

case requiring long continued assistance. In a majority of cases, the first appeal does not bring in the full sum of money needed for the family, so that further requests are made from other sources. That is so prevalent a practice as to be but another form of begging; more impersonal, surely, and more scientific than the applicant could herself undertake, but no less haphazard and objectionable. It doubtless works an advantage in some instances in bringing the interest of a charitably inclined individual to a particularly needy family and arousing a permanent and personal bond of sympathy between them. Such instances, however, while not the exception, are also not the general rule.

The appeal system is bad both in theory and practice, in that it is nothing more than a refined method of begging.

In a letter to the Survey the Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes says:

“To the Editor: I am reading my morning newspaper and in the midst of the day's news, I encounter the following item:

“‘Widowed Mother Needs \$350.’

“Until her husband's death two years ago, the care of the home and her seven children was all that the wife of a laborer had to concern her. The sudden change was bewildering; but she was courageous and with help she has met it. Sorrow has again come to her in her baby's death, and it had been necessary to place the six-year-old boy, found to be mentally deficient, where he can have the attention he needs. Her eldest girl has married and aside from the help which her son-in-law gives her, the widow must still depend on the generosity of others, as her own earnings from doing occasional washings amount to only a dollar or two a week.

“The three boys and their eight-year-old sister go regularly to school. To pay the rent of the home for them and give them plenty to eat during the year, \$350 is needed. The Charity Organization Society asks for this amount that the mother who can give her children such good personal care, may keep them with her.

"Now this appeal stirs me tremendously, especially as it is commended by an organization whose work I trust, whose work I support, and whose active leaders I admire. And yet I don't like it a little bit, and to it I cannot respond.

"For what do we have here but begging — a disguised form of that very practice which scientific charity has taught us to abhor and never to encourage by our support? This unfortunate widow is not standing on the public streets, to be sure, holding out her empty hands for alms. But what is the real difference between such action on her part and the action of the Charity Organization Society in standing in the public prints and holding out its empty hands for alms on her behalf?

"Begging is begging in the case of any person worthy or unworthy. And in the same way begging is begging in the case of any institution as well as of any person and in the public prints as well as on the public street! This woman in spite of herself is being classed among beggars, and receiving a dole! If this is not true and no shame is involved, why is such scrupulous care taken to keep her identity from public knowledge?"

Dr. Devine evidently missed this point entirely, for in his editorial answer to Dr. Holmes, he says:

\* "We must bear in mind that if relief is to be supplied by the State, some commissioner or board of trustees will have to beg for it, quite as much as the societies now beg from the giving public. Often the taxpayers and real estate owners will have a more potent influence than the official representative of the widows and their children. If widows are to be given what they do not earn on the ground of need — somebody must beg for it."

It is the appeal for the individual case which Dr. Holmes objects and not the plea for the particular cause of widowhood. Earlier in the editorial Dr. Devine states:

\* "The above letter clearly indicates a misconception of the appeals made by the Charity Organization Society in par-

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\* The Survey, March 14, 1914.



ticular cases. Unless this misconception can be removed from the mind of so sympathetic a reader as the minister of the Church of the Messiah, the question fairly rises whether such appeals should not be discontinued, even though this should impose upon the society the burden of raising in some other and probably more expensive way the \$5,516.98 which was realized from them last year.

"But surely the fallacy of the objection is easily seen. The Society is able to help widows and others only because the generous public does respond to its appeals. What difference does it make in this respect whether a general appeal is made for a relief fund, and applications are then entertained from it, as is the practice of most relief societies, or the money is raised, as by the Charity Organization Society, case by case as it is needed? The society has for thirty years raised by the latter method most of the relief required for its families other than what is needed for immediate emergent relief.

"Not all of the money raised in this way for specific families comes in response to such newspaper appeals but part of it does. Some is obtained in response to letters, some on personal visits and some over the telephone. No such appeal is evidence of neglect or financial weakness on the part of the society. They are rather exhibitions of strength and efficiency. For the simple fact is that many people like to give for a particular family rather than to an impersonal relief fund, and such a gift is frequently followed by other expressions of personal interest and helpfulness. On the case by case plan, a separate ledger account is opened with the family and the money is held strictly in trust for the family for whom it was given. There are some objections to this plan, but it has many advantages."

Again Dr. Devine has missed what to us seems the point in Dr. Holmes' letter of protest. For this letter states further:

\* "Such considerations as these are hardly conclusive. What we have here in the case of a destitute widowed mother

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\* The Survey, March 14, 1914.

is primarily of course, a case of poverty. But what we have ultimately is a case of *child welfare*. It is not so much poverty that we want to relieve as it is children that we want to save. And this means, does it not, that this case as in all cases where children are involved, the State must be called upon to act?"

In other words, while it is not proper that every case of need should be dealt with individually, the means of meeting that need must not be dependent upon the fickle response of a philanthropic public to an individual appeal, but must rest on the sounder basis of a public appropriation to cover a recognized want. And this becomes particularly true when the want vitally affects the welfare of the children.

That this response to such newspaper appeals is fickle is shown conclusively by the accompanying table of ninety-five appeals sent out by the Charity Organization Society from January 1, 1912, to September, 1913.

## NEWSPAPER APPEALS OF THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY OF NEW YORK

CASE NUMBER	Date of first newspaper appeal made after January 1, 1912	Balance on hand on date of first newspaper appeal	Amount asked for	Total amount received from all newspaper appeals	TOTAL AMOUNT RECEIVED FROM EACH NEWSPAPER APPEAL			Amount received from other appeals and sources
					First	Second	Third	
720	1/2/12	\$5 08	\$240 00	\$92 50	\$92 50			\$124 50
132 689	1/8/12	2 68	78 00	70 00	10 00	\$85 00	\$5 00	56 00
117 360	1/15/12	40 00	120 00	162 50	162 50			
36 018	1/17/12		156 00	138 60				
120 304	1/24/12	8 16	72 00	416 25	312 25	104 00		
135 278	1/24/12	3 18	172 00	11 00				6 00
128 066	1/28/12	3 58	176 00	96 00	96 00			121 00
118 103	1/28/12	3 26	216 00	44 00	44 00			210 25
130 523	2/3/12		104 00	32 00	32 00			
135 914	2/5/12	9 25	144 00	38 00	38 00			97 00
20 874	2/12/12	6 00	182 00	255 00	255 00			
43 576	2/26/12	11 98	240 00	187 50	187 50			
60 551	2/27/12		66 00	11 00	11 00			
86 301	2/17/12	39 94	66 00	21 00	4 00	5 00	12 00	
46 987	3/5/12	10 00	120 00	41 00	42 00			114 25
139 764	3/7/12		144 00	1 00	1 00			49 00
103 769	3/12/12		312 00	292 75	200 00	92 75		135 00
27 709	3/21/12		120 00	3 00	3 00			
53 540	3/24/12	14 75	78 00	30 00	30 00			86 50
121 520	3/26/12	6 05	120 00	70 00	70 00			
111 721	4/2/12	18 65	180 00	68 00	44 00	23 00		
135 113	4/8/12		144 00	74 23	15 00	57 23	2 00	20 00
119 272	4/11/12	10 50	120 00	20 10	20 10			115 00
132 054	4/16/12	4 03	108 00	40 50	35 00	5 50		171 00
118 564	4/17/12	1 92	144 00	131 00	95 00	36 00		48 00
135 853	5/3/12	3 00	168 00	25 00	25 00			
120 518	5/20/12	4 76	96 00	103 50	103 50			
140 398	5/24/12		156 00	15 00	15 00			
105 335	5/28/12	24 75	144 00	173 00	173 00			
139 427	5/27/12	32	72 00	4 00	4 00			
94 514	6/9/12		162 00	107 00	11 00	96 00		73 50
136 470	7/9/12	31 74	104 00	200 00	56 50	71 50	72 00	46 00
126 205	8/13/12	2 07	130 00	40 50	40 50			47 00
140 550	8/20/12	10 57	144 00	155 75	112 50	43 25		23 00
28 581	9/3/12		126 00	104 50	104 50			71 00
114 189	9/12/12		100 00	114	114			151 00



**NEWSPAPER APPEALS OF THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY OF NEW YORK — Concluded**

CASE NUMBER	Date of first newspaper appeal made after January 1, 1912	Balance on hand on date of first newspaper appeal	Amount asked for	Total amount received from all newspaper appeals	TOTAL AMOUNT RECEIVED FROM EACH NEWSPAPER APPEAL			Amount received from other appeals and sources
					First	Second	Third	
41,853	6/12/13	.....	\$30 00	\$1 00	\$1 00	.....	.....	.....
145,637	7/9/13	.....	78 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
141,279	7/18/13	\$6 33	70 00	4 50	4 50	.....	.....	\$5 00
99,315	7/31/13	.....	84 00	60 00	60 00	.....	.....	4 00
145,542	7/31/13	.....	108 00	32 00	32 00	.....	.....	.....
146,535	8/5/13	.....	90 00	71 00	71 00	.....	.....	.....
144,870	9/16/13	3 72	260 00	109 00	77 00	\$32 00	.....	.....
36,751	9/26/13	.....	50 00	50 00	50 00	.....	.....	.....
146,417	10/22/13	35 36	254 00	5 00	5 00	.....	.....	25 00
142,869	10/28/13	15 63	161 00	54 00	54 00	.....	.....	.....
131,891	10/28/13	10 50	60 00	25 00	25 00	.....	.....	.....
Total	.....	\$432 63	\$12,820 00	\$6,257 46	\$5,409 98	\$756 48	\$91 00	\$3,426 48
Deficit	.....	50 83	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

It will be noted that less than half of the money asked for was contributed by the readers of these appeals, and also that the remaining part was apparently never raised in full. When one compares the case in which an appeal for \$75 brought \$416.25, with the one where the request for \$400 netted only \$73.75, one is tempted to believe that the response depends more on the sentimental wording of the appeal than the real need for the family. Surely this is not "Scientific Philanthropy," but rather corporate begging with the same disastrous effect both on the poor family and the general public as the personal street solicitation of the individual beggar. It is a failure both in meeting the particular want, and in educating the community to a full recognition of their social responsibility.

The amount of money received from appeals to other sources than the newspapers brought in a little more than one-quarter of the total required. Such appeals are spread broadcast throughout the community to lists of people who might become contributors to a special family fund or to that of the general society. Follow up letters are regularly sent also, making this a cumbersome and expensive method of raising revenue. We quote herewith from one of these form letters, sent to a teacher who was in no position to contribute, and is at a loss to know how the society obtained her name. It is an interesting sample of the whole appeal system.

*" March 30, 1914.*

"DEAR MADAM.—The widow and her children about whom we wrote you a week ago, are well-known to one of our district secretaries. She has visited in the home and become as familiar as possible with their present and past circumstances. On the knowledge gained, the plan which we described has been formed.

"It is often true that an expenditure of time and effort on the part of our workers is all that is required to carry out such a plan, but in this instance, as you see, money too is a necessary factor.

"For financial assistance which is to be regular and long-continued, the society, after exhausting the available and

more intimate sources of help — friends, relatives, or previous employers — must seek to interest those to whom the family is unknown. No general fund may be maintained to meet such demands and individual effort in each instance is necessary to provide the amount needed. The results are then credited to separate accounts, kept in the name of the family or the individual in whose behalf the appeal was made.

"This explains why we wrote you, a matter about which you may have been in doubt. It shows too that you may be certain just how your money will be used.

"May we count on your help to carry out the plan described?

"Yours sincerely."

Printed on the bottom of the letterhead is the following statement of creed:

"A daily task of the Charity Organization Society for the past thirty years has been the restoration to self-support of needy individuals and families. As a means to this end the society seeks to relieve promptly the material needs of the poor."

"Inadequate Relief is Torture and Temptation."

It is interesting to note, however, that the amount asked for in this particular appeal was far from adequate even if we count in the meagre earnings of the mother, and the indefinite and temporary help of the church. It would be impossible for this woman on her total income of, say \$38 a month, to maintain her little home according to any of the modern standards of decency, nor barely to give her children the minimum amount of food allowed by the recognized authorities on dietetics. And also, even to support herself below the minimum, she must work away from home, leaving her "three small children" to the care of others while she earns "about \$3 a week."

There could hardly be a more illustrative example than this of the inadequacy of private relief, the failure of the appeal system, or the crying need for State aid.

The details of the character and past life of these people is not given, yet we know that she is a worthy mother, and not over-strong. She seems self-reliant, ambitious, and a devoted mother to her children. She would be their best teacher and guardian.

Society owes it to itself to see to it that she does not break down again through overwork and an inadequate standard of living, and that the children do not degenerate through malnutrition and the lack of a proper home training.

Here is the description of the "case" accompanying this letter:

"When Mr. G. died, his wife was worn out with the strain of caring for him and sorely in need of help. There were three small children left to her care for whom she must provide through her own efforts.

"We undertook to secure the assistance that would free her from worry and have been able to make it possible for her to regain her wonted strength.

"Her health re-established, she found work and is earning about three dollars a week. Her church will continue to help her, so that she can now meet her expenses except the rent and special nourishment necessary to safeguard her health and the children's.

"Will you help her to meet these expenses also? Fifteen dollars is needed each month."

As an appeal, perhaps, this was successful; as a plan for the family it is grimly inadequate to protect the home and safeguard the welfare of the children.

We quote again:

"Inadequate Relief is Torture and Temptation."

At the Christmas season last year the New York Times published a series of appeals for the 100 "neediest cases" known to the Charity Organization Society, the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, and the State Charities Aid Association. This last body is not a relief agency, and only ten out of their twenty-nine families were in such plight as to call for assistance on the home. Of the eighty cases, then, where there



was a real family problem presented, there were forty-three where the father had died.

Of the 285 children involved, 162 were those of widowed mothers, whose superior characters were guaranteed by these charitable societies themselves.

Here we have additional evidence of our contention that State aid to the widow will reach those who are most desperately in need, and least liable to be pauperized by the assistance.

It is sad to note here that even this eloquent appeal, made at that season of the year when all humanity is most eager to be of service to the weak and the helpless, that it was not possible to raise the \$30,000 for which the total appeal called.

Dr. I. N. Rubinow, the noted actuary, and ardent advocate of social insurance, said of this appeal:

\* "But in addition to the giving some hard thinking may not be amiss. What brought these one hundred cases to the condition they find themselves in? It is true that one hundred cases are not enough for any sweeping generalizations; that they are moreover likely to be selected cases, picked out for their especial worth as subjects of a Christmas appeal. But with all that, even a slight study of these cases may lead to some significant conclusions. Of these 394 persons there were 45 widows, 182 orphans and half orphans, 2 abandoned wives, 14 abandoned children, 12 aged persons, 7 abandoned young girls with young children. The remaining 132 persons consisted of 25 invalid husbands (with two or three exceptions, the result of tuberculosis), 25 wives of these husbands and 82 children.

"It is hard to lay one's finger on the one decisive cause in each individual's case; nor do the brief appeals presented for purposes of calling on sympathy and generosity furnish the best material for such decisions. But nevertheless insofar as the main facts are stated, the following conditions were found:

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\* The Survey, January 3, 1914.

Industrial accidents in.....	7 cases
Non-industrial accidents in.....	2 cases
Sickness in.....	24 cases
Old age in.....	6 cases
Invalidity in.....	22 cases
Of these tuberculosis in.....	20 cases
<i>Widowhood in</i> .....	45 cases
Orphanage in.....	52 cases
Desertion in . . . . .	13 cases
"Vice" in.....	11 cases

"It will be noted that there were 182 causes for 100 cases; or an average of nearly two causes per case. Orphanage and widowhood go hand in hand and often sickness and invalidity are added in a subnormal family to aggravate the situation.

"Christmas is as good a time as any other to remember that there are such things as Accident Insurance, Sickness Insurance, Old Age and Invalidity Insurance, Old Age Pensions, Widows and Orphans' Insurance, Widows and Orphans' Pensions, and that a comprehensive system of social insurance may in the not distant future make any appeal for Christmas pennies and Christmas cheer, if not altogether unnecessary, at least much less pressing."

Again we note that widows' pensions is considered an integral part of that comprehensive scheme of social insurance, the adoption of which will put an end to the dependence of the poor upon the voluntary gratuities of the rich.

### A Reductio Ad Absurdum

The final argument against the possibility or propriety of the private charitable organizations raising adequate funds to provide for the home care of the widowed mother is one of reductio ad absurdum.

There have been several attempts in the course of our inquiry, to mislead the public into believing that the cost of a system of

State assistance would be enormous. Thus Mr. Lee K. Frankel, ex-superintendent of the United Hebrew Charities, and now vice-president of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and Dr. Edward T. Devine have both assured this Commission that there are 183,000 widows in New York City, and that the expense of caring for the needy ones would run up into the millions and perhaps tens of millions of dollars annually, if we were to give our relief according to an adequate standard.

Of course, as a matter of fact, this number includes all widows regardless of economic condition. A good system of widows' pensions would cost the community very little if any more than the present cost of caring for the children of such widows in institutions. But let us for the moment assume that Dr. Devine's estimate of \$1,000,000 a year as the amount needed to give adequate relief to the widowed mothers of New York City is correct.

All the charities of the city combined give less than \$750,000 annually for all the relief granted to all the cases under their care.

If it would cost *one million dollars for widows alone*, how can the charities ever hope to raise the enormous amount needed to give adequate relief and the most thorough and most scientific care to *all* the needy? And since they have never raised more than a small fraction of that amount for the assistance of any group of cases, and yet claim such an amount essential, how can the charities longer maintain that State aid is unnecessary.

By the weight of their own logic they dare not longer stand in the way of public assistance to those for whom they have not and cannot raise sufficient private help.

For surely the needy must be cared for — and cared for adequately. And where the need directly affects the life and welfare of dependent children, that need must be met fully and at once.

If this be granted then the whole question of "widows' pensions" becomes one of method, and here, of course, there is plenty of room for argument and contention. In the outlining of a workable method of administering such State aid so that it can be most efficient, sympathetic and flexible, private charity

can be of the greatest service. In the manner of establishing such a public function, private charity can render invaluable assistance. But first "private charity" must be made to face its own inherent shortcomings and to realize the urgent need for such public relief and its relationship to general social service.

Gradually the societies everywhere are coming to see the question in this light and are becoming the more ardent supporters of the pension movement throughout the country. In this State also there is apparent a movement to recognize the need for some system of public allowances to the dependent children of widowed mothers and to discuss freely and openly the proper method of administration. In New York city the Jewish societies have been the leaders in this, and the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor have followed closely behind. After the issuance of Dr. Devine's report, the New York association made an investigation of its own work among widowed families that proves conclusively its present failure to meet the needs presented by this problem. The Charity Organization Society and the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities have been slower to accept the challenge of the Executive Committee that they investigate their own needs and resources, but even they are now willing to admit that their relief heretofore has been dangerously inadequate.

Unfortunately, however, these two organizations refused to cooperate with this Commission in the course of this investigation, and preferred, apparently, to confuse the issue with personal bickerings and evasions than to join in a fair and impartial examination of the facts. This attitude of mind prevented the Commission from going as deeply into the whole question of child dependency as its authority and the seriousness of the problem warranted. Now that the heat of contention is over, it is devoutly to be hoped that all those individuals and societies who have at heart the best welfare of the child will join together on the common ground of a public need and work out in harmony the best method of meeting that need.

The United Hebrew Charities of New York report that they have been successful in securing adequate and regular assistance for only twenty out of the five hundred widowed mothers under their charge. With the outbreak of the war and its consequent

retraction of charitable donations these families are the first to feel the stringency; already their rent has been uniformly reduced 10 per cent.

The Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor state that only 43 out of 474 widowed mothers in their care are receiving adequate assistance. By a recent gift of the Rockefeller Foundation the association hopes to extend such aid to fifty more families, and is also endeavoring to raise special funds for the further extension of their pensions.

The thirty-fifth annual report of the Buffalo Charity Organization Society states that "with widows this society gives many regular monthly pensions in order to keep the mother and children together in the home. We know, however, that with widows our aid has sometimes been inadequate, for such relief is very costly. Five hundred dollars is hardly sufficient to support an entirely dependent family for a year, but the largest amount given by the society for any one family was \$397."

This inadequacy is evidenced in every section of this report. The review of the individual cases prepared by our Director of Investigations and gone over in the presence of the officials of the societies involved are proofs conclusive. The records of unnecessary commitments bring to light the horrible tragedy involved. The report of every investigation that has been made in the past five years into the matter comes to the same conclusion. The charges of earnest disinterested social workers and the frank admission of the very societies that are maintaining the finest standards of relief must make it impossible for anyone to maintain hereafter that the sources of relief at present available in the community are adequate to meet the need of that community.

At present, then, of the widows who are being assisted by the private charities in New York, only sixty-three are receiving relief that is considered sufficient according to the best standards of relief as scientifically determined by their own experts. In one instance this forms 4 per cent. and in another 11 per cent. of the number being cared for by their respective societies.

The rest must struggle on as best they can, going through the weary round of home work, factory work, day's work, in a heroic effort to supplement the inadequate relief granted them so as to

keep their home up to a standard, pitifully low in itself, of comfort and decency. Far, far too often the mother breaks down in health and in courage, the home degenerates, and the children are sent to an institution or allowed to run wild on the streets.

Under-nourished, untrained, undeveloped, they become in their turn the incompetent heads of dependent families. Indeed, society pays for its social neglect.

The present system of public relief which exists in every part of the State, except New York city, is infected with political corruption and incompetency. Each city or town has its commissioner of charities or overseer of the poor, while each county has at least one superintendent of the poor. There is much bickering between the component units of each county and a complete lack of proper record keeping. Moreover, many of these "poor" officers are elected annually and are prevented by the extremely limited appropriations and the traditional idea of giving a small stipulated amount of relief to any family generally in kind. There is little continuity in the work and less intelligent constructive effort to rehabilitate the families in need.

In cities where there are strong private organizations or awakened public opinions the funds are given as wisely as it is possible under the restriction of the appropriation; elsewhere the relief is given as "doles" that are neither sufficient in amount nor properly supervised to reach the real need of the families. But even in Buffalo, where the oldest private relief society in the country co-operates heartily with an intelligent municipal overseer, the relief is admittedly inadequate to meet the standard of home life agreed on as essential to the social progress of the family.

In the other cities where the societies are much younger and smaller they can do little to supplement the aid given by the overseer, which still in many cases is limited absolutely to coal in the winter and two dollars a week to each family.

In the rural districts of the State, where there are no well organized societies, the relief of the poor is left largely in the hands of the local supervisors and overseers. For the most part these officers are political appointees and have not the training or the character to do genuine social work. There is much incompetence

and inefficiency. The State Board of Charities, which has supervision over the dispensation of public relief funds, has not sufficient power to make that supervision more than a check upon worse conditions and cannot do constructive work unless it has better local officials to start with.

### **Need for Reorganizing Our Public Relief System**

The dispensation of relief in all counties should be centralized into the hands of one supervisor, who should be required to pass a civil service examination that would test his broadmindedness, depth of judgment and degree of foresight. Until this is done the misery, degeneracy and proportionate immorality, which is much more usual in our rural districts than in our cities, will continue, and the resultant feeble-mindedness, disease and crime will follow and flourish as flagrantly and as needlessly as it does to-day. The entire system of public outdoor relief needs reformation, and the Legislature should at once take steps to have this whole matter carefully studied.

Mr. Thomas L. Hinckley, for a long time Secretary of the Westchester County Research Bureau, writes as follows:

\* "We found that the question of poor relief, in general was one which exhibited the greatest inefficiency possible. It was our deduction that the main cause for the financial waste which we learned of was due to the decentralized irresponsible character of the county charitable system. Between nineteen local overseers of the poor, and the country organization for poor relief, we discovered that there was endless opportunity for political favoritism, carelessness in making commitments, and in some cases, downright stealing of the public money. In order to remedy the situation, it seemed to us that local poor relief should be done away with absolutely, and that the administration of the county charities should be put into hands of a responsible authority — the board of supervisors until some better arrangement is worked out — and that this responsible authority should delegate the actual administration of charitable relief to a trained superintendent."

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\* Correspondence, January 29, 1914.

The Hon. Homer Folks, ex-Commissioner of Public Charities of New York City and the present secretary of the State Charities Aid Association, regarding certain bills relative to poor relief that were introduced in the Legislature of 1913, says:

\* "The original relief system of New York State, like that of New England, was a town system both as to almshouse construction and management and as to outdoor relief. In 1824, after a very thorough investigation by the Secretary of State, a law was enacted placing almshouses on a county basis. Outdoor relief, however, has remained to this date a town function. With increased facilities for communication and transportation, the time has come for a co-ordination and organization of outdoor relief similar to that which took place in 1824 as to almshouses.

"The present New York plan of a mixed town and county system exists in only twelve other States. Thirty-three States have already adopted the county system. With one official responsible for poor relief throughout the county, some degree of uniformity could be secured and some one official held responsible for unwise relief. At the present time there are from twenty to fifty different standards of determining the methods of administering poor relief in each county — in other words, as many different standards as there are overseers of the poor. The present overseers devote most of their time to farming, day labor, carpentry, keeping a store or other occupation. The work in one town, particularly in one of the towns with a small population, is not sufficiently large or varied to require much of their time or to give them a wise experience. The result is that no standards are developed."

The whole organization of county government needs reformation; it is at present the most unprogressive unit of our political life. The weakness of the structure reacts disastrously to the social welfare of the communities and reaps unnecessary hardship upon the poor and the unfortunate.

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\* Circular letter of State Charities Aid Association, 1913.



Mr. Porter R. Lee of the New York School of Philanthropy writes:

\* "Few institutions have been subject to more criticism than public outdoor relief. No institution has been under fire so long with so little real effort to find out what makes it criticizable. It may well be that public assistance in some form is indispensable in this country and will be made to yield the results we seek. If so, its administration must be revolutionized. Giving existing outdoor relief officials new duties and responsibility to a new authority for part of their work, will not revolutionize it. Nor will the giving of new names to old practices not otherwise shorn of the defects which popularize the new name do so. Again and again we have started with a clear call to do justice to the widow. Every time we try to translate our zeal into legislation we come square up against our outdoor relief machinery."

The Rev. Mr. Greenman, president of the Central Council of Philanthropies of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, recently said:

† "All of a sudden within three years has been developed this tremendous sympathy and interest and enthusiasm in dealing with this problem of poverty, dealing with it not in a State institution, but in the homes, and that is a splendid sign. It is not as if the State never took any interest in poor folks because we have a very elaborate organization to take care of poor folks outside of institutions in their homes. That is the reason we call it outdoor relief. But has it occurred to you what is implied in the fact that we have bills for widows' pensions presented here, bills presented in twenty Legislatures in the United States this winter? It is a confession, and there is no question about it, that one of the most important functions of the State in taking care of its poor folks is a total failure. You have an administrative organization to deal with the outdoor poor in the State of Wisconsin and you had it a long time, and these

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\* The Survey, April 26, 1913.

† Testimony before committee of the Legislature of Wisconsin, 1913.

bills are confessions, that — it is not on this debate properly — it is one of the disgraces of the State, it is a disgrace of any State in the Union, there isn't any State attending to it in proper fashion."

### **Need for New Machinery**

For these reasons, this Commission in its recommendations to the Legislature of 1914 did not deem it wise to rely upon the present machinery for the distribution of poor relief, but sought to create a new Board of Child Welfare in each county, on which were to be representatives of the charitable, educational, judicial and health authorities, and which was to have centralized responsibility and a high standard of efficiency and constructive effort.

In so separating this work from ordinary "outdoor relief" we are not only avoiding the danger inherent in that system as it is at present constituted, but we are enacting the true principle of Public Aid to Dependent Children. Of the twenty-one States that have adopted "pension" laws, Massachusetts is the only one which has entrusted its operation to the overseers of the poor, and even here the law gives the State Board of Charities so much power of supervision and regulation as practically to reorganize the work of these local officials.

### **Pensions a Forward Step**

Despite the ever weakening protests of the private charities, the administration of Mothers' Pension is entirely different than that of public relief. The difference lies in the new note of adequate treatment and the emphasis placed on the development of the child. Because of this these pensions have developed a new standard of constructive rehabilitation that included all the more modern ideals of social work and far surpasses the ordinary type of charity both public and private.

To show this difference we again quote from the testimony of Rev. W. F. Greenman, president of the Central Council of Philanthropies of Milwaukee, Wisconsin:

\* "In talking with one the other day on the administration of charity, he said, 'Why, I have been watching this ad-

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\* Hearing before Wisconsin Legislature, 1914.

ministration of outdoor relief in the city of Milwaukee for a good many years; now, you know as well as I do that many of these people are what we call just plain shiftless, not in the sense of reproaching, but just as an accurate description of their habit of life. Now, I can't see this putting good money into their hands, what are they going to do with it. They will do with it just what they have done with all the money they ever had.' That man couldn't see outdoor relief in any other terms than failure. Now he said: 'Isn't that so?' and I said: 'No, it is not so.' Then I described the workings of our pensions for tuberculosis relief and the mothers' relief in Milwaukee and showed him just how a visiting housekeeper first of all goes into a home and shows the mother how to keep her records and in many cases she doesn't even know that. And this same housekeeper goes out with her to buy her food and goes back and shows her how to cook it, and shows her how she can keep a slip. When I told them of this legislation here — 'Why, that takes education, doesn't it?' I said, 'Sure, it does,' and any provision for a mother's pension law that doesn't make some provision for such a friendly educational follow-up system is going to be worse, if anything, worse than nothing at all."

### **Social Progress**

The Mothers' Assistance Laws in this country are a step forward from and not back to the old "outdoor relief," which has been a failure everywhere. The leaders in private charity in the West fully appreciate this — in fact, it is largely because of this they so unanimously approve of these laws. Our leaders here have as yet been unwilling to face the truth of this and have opposed the principle of government aid because of their fear that it will mean a return to the disgraceful condition that existed in New York city up to 1878 and that still exists, though in lesser degree, throughout the rest of the State.

The success of the measure elsewhere, the ever advancing standards of all public work should convince all those who are progressive at all that such fears are without foundation.

The formation of the county boards of child welfare as recommended by this Commission should do much, not only to protect dependent children in their own homes, but also to bring together all the forces for good in every community, into an active harmonious group that would effectively drive out the evils resulting from the present system of incompetent poor relief and inadequate private charity in our villages, towns and cities.

We have now shown that the indigent widowed mother cannot by her own efforts earn enough to maintain a standard of home life that is beneficial to her children, and that our present system of relief is totally inadequate to relieve her of enough of her burden to make the load bearable.

Twenty-one States in the Union have faced this same situation and have met this same problem by creating a system of State aid, popularly known as Mothers' Pensions. The development of this system everywhere and its adoption in New York has been vigorously opposed by many of the leading charitable societies throughout the country. More particularly however that opposition has emanated from the charity workers that dominate the New York School of Philanthropy and the Russell Sage Foundation.

In a large measure these organizations lead in the development of philanthropic thought and work in America. In order then fully to understand their opposition and to answer their objections it becomes necessary to discuss more fully the various phases of the philosophy of private philanthropy.

### CHAPTER III

#### Fundamental Flaws in the Philosophy of Private Charity

##### 1. MONETARY ASSISTANCE AN ESSENTIAL

Up to within a few years ago, the nonsectarian charities held as a fundamental principle that financial aid was a very minor, if not a negligible, element of family rehabilitation, counting as infinitely more valuable the ministrative services of their trained district secretaries, and their volunteer friendly visitors.

Dr. Riley, Secretary of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, said:

\* "The Bureau of Charities, together with other charity organization societies, believes that the giving of relief — material relief — to families is an incident in a program of leading or encouraging that family to self-support again. The emphasis that our Society places upon the giving of coal, or groceries, or clothing, or cash, is perhaps, not as great as was placed by other Societies and certainly not as great as was placed by the earlier forms of organizations, namely, the relief societies."

The case was even more baldly put by Dr. Riley's predecessor, the Rev. W. I. Nichols, in testifying before the Committee on Government Aid of the Third New York City Conference of Charities:

† "We have made the relief as little as possible, fearing that it may be harmful. Our relief may be considered very inadequate, though we try to see that every family is kept from severe suffering. I presume we have frequently not done what would be considered comfortable and adequate, because we have not believed in anyone being maintained by relief and we have only tried to avert severe suffering."

Although the Buffalo Charity Organization gives generously of its funds it is of the opinion that:

‡ "Contrary to popular belief, the majority of families in distress do not require material relief at all; they do not even want it."

The fear of pauperizing the needy by giving them money has proven in most instances without foundation; the dangers of giving inadequate relief have come to be recognized as a far greater evil. But organized charity has been unable to raise funds sufficiently large to permit their meeting this higher standard of

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\* Testimony, October, 1913.

† Third N. Y. City Conference of Charities, 1912.

‡ Report Buffalo Charity Organization Society, 1912.

adequacy in any appreciable number of families. The rest must be content with aid that is insufficient for their needs, and the widowed mother must supplement it by her own earnings. Thus again she must work either in or out of her house to the detriment of the family's health and well-being.

The results speak for themselves. Dr. Devine in his report says:

\* "Moreover the case records may profitably be scrutinized to see whether there is evidence of inadequacy in relief. They are competent evidence if rightly used. If conditions in the family do not improve, but steadily grow worse, this raises at least a presumption that there is inadequacy in relief or in treatment. This presumption may be set aside by evidence that everything has been done which is humanly possible to prevent the deterioration, and that it is due either to irremediable causes in the family or to social and economic causes outside over which the society could not exercise control. Examining the records from this point of view they do show inadequacy of relief and of treatment in a proportion of cases which although it cannot be stated in figures is certainly large enough to cause serious concern."

What is meant here by "social and economic causes over which the society could not exercise control?" We note particularly that they are controllable, since they are not included in the category "irremediable." Is not this vagueness a clear evasion? Does not the conclusion here not only "cause serious concern" but stand as proof that private charity is not only not providing adequately for the needs of all dependent families, but is actually contributing to their dependency and misfortune by the inadequacy of their relief?

Indeed, when we realize that these statistics are not mere arithmetical juggling of abstract figures, but represent human beings who, in the name of charity, have been given doles, we are not surprised to find this philosophy so startlingly expressed in the constitution of the Brooklyn A. I. C. P.:

"To give no aid to persons who, from infirmity, imbecility, old age or any other cause, are unable to earn their own sup-

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\* Report of Executive Committee of Special Conference, 1914.

port and therefore are permanently dependent. In extreme cases, or until they can be referred to other institutions — temporary assistance may be given. Notwithstanding these persons may be worthy, they are non-improvable.”

*These Widows and Particularly Those Considered by the Societies as Worthy of Receiving Pensions Non-improvable!*

Lately, then, there is a tendency to recognize lack of money as one of the fundamental causes of poverty and the supplying of this want at least as important a feature of their work as the friendly advice and educational guidance in the home.

We are just discovering the truth of the words of the Bible:

“What doth it profit my brethren if a brother or sister be naked and destitute of daily food, and one of you say unto them go, depart in peace, be ye warmed and filled; notwithstanding ye give them not those things which are needful to the body; what doth it profit.”

That the truth of this was ever doubted is humorous. But when we realize that for years it has been doubted and the doubt carried out in the name of “charity,” it becomes tragic.

Mr. C. C. Carstens, in his report “Public Pensions to Widows with Children,” states:

“The idea of adequate relief is a new one for most charitable agencies. Whether public or private, they are still quite generally in the habit of calculating the amount that can be given any one family by dividing the probable total number of families under care into the probable total amount available for relief. Great strides, however, have been made in private agencies, particularly in their willingness to recognize that each agency should aid adequately or feel responsible for the adequate aid of those that it aids at all, and responsible, too, for developing, within the families themselves, within their immediate circles, or from natural sources, such aid as will wholly and best meet the need. Public agencies have only partially as yet felt this influence, and they recognize only imperfectly or not at all the many

forms of service which can be rendered those in distress aside from the granting of money. Progress has, however, been made even among them."

Some of the private societies, notably the Buffalo Charity Organization Society, the United Charities of Rochester, the Associated Charities of Syracuse, the Elmira Federation for Social Service, the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor and the United Hebrew Charities are making special efforts to increase the amount of relief available for the widows in their community and to give adequately for the protection of normal family life.

It is a sad commentary that these are the only societies who freely acknowledged their failure in this. The others, after evading the question of adequacy for a long while, fell back on the old plea that the giving of money was secondary to the counsel of good visitors.

The new note in charitable work was struck by Mr. Cyrus L. Sulzberger, former president and now a trustee of the United Hebrew Charities, when he stated:

\* "My judgment is that no relief organization is adequately aiding widows at the present time or has been at any time, for as many years as I can recollect. I believe very strongly that there should be all the modern aids to philanthropy that are involved in friendly visiting and in nursing and in all the other aids to charity. But a hungry widow cannot eat a friendly visitor. There are certain elemental needs that must be provided that these aids will not provide. I mean to say there is a certain fundamental amount of money that must be provided before the assistance of the friendly visitor is of any use. The first thing the woman needs is food and a roof over her head, and clothing and fuel. You cannot preach high thinking on such very low living."

## II. LACK OF A UNIFORM METHOD AND STANDARD OF RELIEF

Closely allied to this fear of adequate relief is the inability of private charity to formulate any common standard of assistance

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\* Testimony of November, 1913.



necessary for the proper maintenance of life. As Mrs. Florence Kelley said:

\* "If the mother is one of the selected few who are taken up by the C. O. S., she is treated one way; if she is aided by the A. I. C. P., she is treated another way; if she comes to the U. H. C., for instance, in a crisis, where funds are low, she may get a scant allowance; if she goes to St. Vincent de Paul, she will be treated in some other way. There are four different standards of relief to which the children under the same law and obligation and with the same claim to be kept physically efficient, are subject."

The standard of relief spoken of in this connection must be differentiated from the standards of living which have been worked out in theory very carefully by the experts of the charities but have never been approached in practice.

The minimum income which will afford a decent standard of living for the normal family of man, women and three dependent children has been estimated all the way from \$600 to \$1,200 a year.

The two studies on Standards of Living published a few years ago, one by Chapin, the other by Mrs. Louise B. Moore, agreed upon \$850 as the necessary minimum for New York city.

Mrs. Mary K. Simkhovitch, the head worker of Greenwich House, however, testified:

† "It has been my duty recently to prepare a paper for the National Federation of Settlements which I read at Pittsburgh. I had made a careful study of this matter of the budget, and I am convinced that we ought not to say as we have been saying until recently, that anywhere from \$500 to \$800 a year is sufficient for a normal family of five in a community such as New York; but that we should certainly say that \$1,000 is the least that a family can live on and manage to be assets to the community."

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\* Testimony before Committee of Third New York City Conference of Charities, 1912.

† Testimony, November, 1913.

Confirming this is the view of Martha Bensley Bruere, who says:

\* "I do not believe that anywhere in the United States a family of father, mother and three children, of which not more than one is over fourteen, can be run decently or efficiently on less than \$1,200 a year."

It is not our purpose here to go into a discussion of these various standards nor to enter the broad question of low wages, but rather to point out the attitude of relief agencies towards maintaining any standard in the families they are aiding.

In this regard Mr. John A. Kingsbury, formerly head of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, and at present Commissioner of Charities for New York city, said:

† "Now, in recent years, I think that many of us have been inclined to accept the Chapin standard as the standard which is necessary to maintain a family of five. Personally, I think that that standard is too low. I think facts of more recent investigations tend to show that that is too low a standard to provide adequate nourishment, proper shelter and sufficient clothing and so on, and the other items necessary to maintain existence in a respectable way. If that is the condition we are trying to bring about in individual homes, in homes of widowed mothers and others, I do not hesitate for one moment to say that it is not being met, that the relief is not in that sense adequate. But, broadly speaking, we do set up that standard. I think most of the societies have that standard in mind. So long as I have been connected with the work I have been impressed with the fact that funds, private funds, are not sufficient now to do the job according to a standard which I think is adequate."

Some of the larger societies throughout the State are attempting to meet this standard completely, in regard to the food supply, and have an elaborate system of food budgets which are adapted to the needs of individual families by a trained dietitian. But, as has

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\* Cost of Living.

† Testimony, November, 1913.

been proven heretofore, they succeed in doing this in only a small percentage of their families.

Some of the charities give cash to the widows, while others still cling to the old method of orders for groceries, etc., in local stores; some maintain their own depots and give their applicants the advantage of the low cost of the goods bought at wholesale. When there is illness or infirmity, of course, these "orders" are a great saving in time and energy as well as money. But in the case of a widowed mother who is a fit guardian for her children, the assistance ought to be given entirely in cash.

Rev. J. B. Haldane in his "Social Workers Guide" lays down as one of the fundamental principles of England's new Poor Law:

"That relief should take the form of money and not kind."

The experience of the administration of the mothers' pension laws in the twenty States of this country proves this principle sound for this country as well.

Where she is not a good cook or intelligent marketer, educational efforts should be made by visiting housekeepers and dietitians—but she should not be deprived of the control of her budget. The responsibility of expending the income as well as the independence that comes from handling money is an essential factor in the development of the mother's training and the rehabilitation of the family.

At least two of the societies of Manhattan have made an attempt to carry out the recommendations of the New York City Congestion Commission by moving the recipients of relief away from the congested districts. But it has proven very difficult to do this because of the ties of race, blood, religion and language which hold our people so close to the tenement. The families that have been moved to the less crowded districts of the city find their new neighborhood too high priced, too quiet and too lonesome. Sooner or later they move back to their own particular section of the city where each street represents a village in their old country and all the neighbors are co-patriots. Private charity or public pensions, for that matter, cannot have much control over these national groupings of people in congested districts.

But the public allowance will have the advantage of being sufficient in amount and reliability for the intelligent mother to make the break from her old neighborhood for the sake of her children. At present in New York City, the families who are moved to the Bronx or to Brooklyn live in daily fear that the "charities" will at some time desert them, and leave them stranded.

Nowhere in the State is the mother given the money to purchase the clothing for the family nor is there any definite contributions set aside for this important part of the budget.

Most of the private societies purchase new shoes for the children of school age but even this is not done with any preconceived plan. The whole matter is left to the discretion of the individual visitor or agent, who simply notes when any applicant needs clothing, and then supplies it as best she can, either from the stock of second hand garments contributed or at some low price bargain counter sale.

Such a system cannot be defended. The whole principle of handing down second-hand clothing only when there is immediate and painfully obvious need of it, or at certain holiday seasons of the year is undemocratic and harmful to the character of the recipient.

In the various "standard of living" studies, the proportion for clothing ranges from 11.7 per cent. to 18.5 per cent. of the budget, and forms the third largest item.

The following table brings out the varying percentage values as determined in the different studies:

	Buffalo Per cent.	*Chapin New York Per cent.	†Mrs. More Per cent.	‡Mrs. Bruere Per cent.
Rent .....	15.0	23.5	19.6	12.0
Food .....	47.0	44.5	42.8	37.2
Clothing .....	18.5	13.0	11.7	8.3
Fuel and light.....	6.0	6.0	4.7	12.5
Carfare, insurance, health, education	8.0	6.0	11.3	28.2
Sundries .....	55.0	7.0	5.4	....
Total .....	100.0	100.0	95.5	98.2

\* "Standard of Living," Russell Sage Foundation, 1909.

† "Wage-earners' Budgets," Holt & Co., 1907.

‡ Utilization of Family Income, Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1913.

The higher percentages for Sundries and "advancement" expenditures in Mrs. Bruere's study is particularly interesting since it brings out the new emphasis that is being placed on these items in the maintenance of the normal homes.

Miss Margaret F. Byington in a paper before the American Academy of Political and Social Science said:

"Has anyone the faintest idea what a minimum sane expenditure for sundries would be? Yet in this item we include all the subtle expenditures that go so far toward making life wholesome; expenditures for schools and newspapers, for church, for amusements. Their very vagueness has made all of us, no matter how carefully we have worked out the rest of our standard, stop when we get to sundries and just guess. setting down perhaps a figure that brings our total estimate to a round figure like \$15 a week or \$1,000 a year. It is certainly the best that we can do now; and, yet, around that item cluster some interesting and debatable questions. How much recreation is a physical necessity and how much does it cost to get it? If a day laborer is to vote is not a newspaper a necessary item in his budget? How are the churches which working people attend to be supported? What is the result of lack of physical care in towns that have no dispensaries, where the doctor is a luxury to be consulted only in dire need? Should we agitate against midwives when a laborer's wife cannot afford the regular doctor's fee? How much insurance should be provided for sickness and death? What should be the difference in expenditure for sundries between families living in a city that has free school books, a public library, playgrounds, social centers, in the public schools, dispensaries and dental clinics, and one that makes no such provision? In my Homestead accounts I found that whereas the families with an income of less than \$12 a week spent fifty cents a week for sundries; the families with an income of more than \$20 spent \$4.09 for sundries; more than eight times as much. My personal knowledge of these families made me believe that this increase was wholesome and in the long run tended to create a physical well-being and more intelligent citizenship.

"As a last point what is the effect of undue economy on all lives, what does the everlasting grind do to the woman's body and to her temper? A woman who had on \$2.25 a day attained a pleasant little home, attractive dresses for her daughters, some flowers in her window, told me little by little, the story of what they had cost her of absolute self-denial, of long hours of work, of rigid economy, at the price of a lost temper and broken health. Certainly we must not seek to justify waste and extravagance. But let us make a more critical study of the physiological and psychological effects of certain limitations of expenditure, that we may know which items are necessary to physical efficiency and which can be entirely eliminated from our minimum wage scale. The human body is not a machine to be fed and tended as a machine and we must know the conditions under which it can be kept at a high level of physical efficiency."

Some of the societies, notably the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor and the Buffalo Charity Organization Society, are particularly generous and thoughtful in their allowances for insurance and incidentals.

But there is still the common practice everywhere among public and private charities to figure out the families' needs on the basis of "rent and about \$1 a week per member." This is evidenced again and again in the records of families reviewed by our subcommittee and reported elsewhere. The index of adequate food nourishment, clothing supply, recreation and health is too often the appearance and cheerfulness of the applicant rather than the application of minimum standards.

It is not necessary perhaps to accept any of these budgets, but it is essential to agree on a budget and apply it to each family in need.

Mr. Cyrus L. Sulzberger testified as follows:

"I do not believe it is the function of private charities nor of the State to provide what we call a standard of living as set forth by Mr. Chapin or Mr. Stratoff; but I do believe that it is the function of somebody to provide enough to keep body and soul decently together. Now at the present moment I know of nobody who is doing that elemental function."

And he adds the significant phrase:

“Unfortunately at the present time the amount of relief that is granted is measured, not by the needs of the applicant, but by the needs of the society.”

The first failure of modern private charity is their unwillingness to appreciate the economic basis of poverty — the second is their inability to set any standard of adequacy in relief. And the third is their incapacity to recognize the limitations of family and neighborhood responsibilities.

### 3. OVER DEPENDENCE ON RELATIVES

While it is, of course, true that all the relatives of a dependent family should be keenly interested in her welfare, and should give her financial and moral support, reliance upon them as a source of income can easily be pushed to an extreme. In the majority of indigent families the relatives are little better off than the applicant and are having sufficient of a struggle to keep the wolf from their door. The private charities often count upon the assistance of relatives who are not legally bound, or upon those who must be allowed to keep their little money to protect their own interests. Too often also is a charity willing to assume that a relative is granting adequate assistance upon the assurance of a mother that he is “helping her.” No careful investigation is made of the actual amount of such assistance.

The average applicant for relief resents bitterly the inquiry from the relatives of her worthiness by the agents of private societies. There is a natural cry that rebels against such an inquiry, particularly when it does not take into account the petty family quarrels and jealousies that mar the friendships of relatives or neighbors.

There are some extreme instances in the family histories reviewed by the sub-committee of this Commission which show to what extent this reliance upon relatives has gone.

Sometimes even charitable societies have “closed” a case and refused assistance because the applicants were unwilling to have their troubles aired before distant members of the family.

Dr. Riley, Secretary of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, stated:

"Occasionally the ground of refusal to aid has been the lack of willingness to accept the relief that was offered in another form through relatives."

The Massachusetts Commission reported as follows:

#### **Inexpediency of Demand Upon Relatives**

\* "Two usual features of the existing practice of the relief of widows seem improper to the commissioners in all cases where clearly worthy families are in question. Both methods, though in different degree, have considerable advantage where less worthy families are in question.

"It is usual to seek to secure as much aid as possible for the family from relatives, partly to save the money of the society, partly to stimulate family interest, partly to induce care in spending. Generally the relatives are of about the same social stratum as the indigent family. Sometimes only a pittance can be procured from them, sometimes the amount is large. The case of a sister in domestic service turning over \$3 a week to a widow is exceptional only in the amount involved. Beyond doubt such aid is often cheerfully yielded, because it seems necessary or to make the family less beholden to others.

"The relatives, however, in order to aid often stint their own expenditures seriously, and are prevented from saving for their personal or family vicissitudes of the future. It seems just that the economic burden of the widow should rather rest on the community, which is certainly not less to blame for her condition than are her relatives. Handicaps upon them do not seem socially expedient. By no means does it follow that relatives, freed from the demand for pay, would take less interest in the family; perhaps more, since friendly interest would cease to imply financial aid. The brother or sister who can now be persuaded by the agency to contribute

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\* Commission on the Support of Dependent Minor Children of Widowed Mothers, Mass., 1913.



freely to the destitute widow seems by that very token a person likely to be a helpful friend to her, and also likely to lay by for the future or to spend profitably for his own family what he did not yield up. The relative who would not save or wisely spend his money, if free to do so, is also the relative who at present is not persuaded to help the widow."

One of the favorite arguments against government assistance is the plea that it will break down this family coherence and relieve the relatives of the responsibilities of their relationship.

Mr. Robert W. de Forrest said:

\* "State pensions for widows would tend to relieve neighbors and relatives from their present sense of responsibility and to cut off supplies from them. Moreover, and this is perhaps a stronger reason, it would tend to cut off widows from the friendly aid and friendly sympathy that usually goes with material aid and which is often of greater importance than the material aid itself. Underlying the idea of widows' pensions seems to be the thought that material aid is everything, or if not everything, the most important thing."

Mr. C. C. Carstens, after making a special study of the effect of the original "Funds to Parents" act in Chicago, says:

† "Decrease of Interest and of Resources Other Than Pension.—The effect of the pension upon the generosity of relatives, and upon the development of private aid through churches, employers, friends or societies, is a thing which will be keenly watched by all who are interested in the care of needy families. It is a subject of large concern to know whether, through such a large relief fund as a widows' pension fund, churches, relatives, employers or private societies will become less interested or cease their interest altogether at the point where the pension begins. On this subject 51 of the cases examined show either that less interest began to be felt as a result of a pension plan or that these agencies

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\* Testimony, November, 1913.

† Public Pensions to Widows with Children.

ceased their interest altogether. In 19 instances there seems to have been no effect, but in some of these no other agencies or individuals were at any time interested. In 30 instances it was impossible to measure just what effect the pension had had. In 34 instances it was believed that the application for the pension was due to the existence of the pension itself, while 64 applications did not seem to have originated in that way, and 2 were doubtful."

The conclusion is not drawn, but the inference is that the law has resulted in the widespread degeneration of family autonomy and social interest.

Both Mr. Carsten's conclusion and this inference is indignantly denied by all those connected with the work of the Chicago court, from Judge Pinckney to the last member of the advisory committee, which is made up of the most prominent social workers of the city. In fact, they took the directly opposite point of view.

Mr. Sherman C. Kingsley, secretary of the Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund, a director in the United Charities of Chicago and a member of the advisory committee on the "Parents' Fund," said:

"I think it is perfectly true that in some instances relatives may have helped in their support but for this function; that is true of almost any kind of public agency. There are people who are cared for in insane asylums and almshouses and all kinds of public institutions who, if the institutions didn't exist, would have to be cared for in other ways. I think it is true that some relatives would take them, but it would be hard to get support for them. In Judge Pinckney's administration of the law he was too insistent on relatives helping and had denied help to some, they say, who ought to have had it. This comes from people outside, other social workers, that he was too drastic in insisting on relatives helping. It is true in my experience that many relatives are aiding who ought not to be aiding."

In all the States visited by our subcommittee the testimony of all who appeared was unanimous in agreeing that the public pension did relieve relatives, not of their interest in but of the burden of support of the mother only in cases where the relief was not only improper but advisable.

Miss Gertrude Vaile, of the Juvenile Court in Denver, Colorado, says:

\* "There seems no doubt that a system of public pensions must be expected to take over an immense financial burden, now actually being borne by relatives and friends. That may not wholly be an evil. One of our present pensioners was recommended for pension by the school authorities for the sake of her overburdened sister, whose children were being kept out of school to help the widow. We are satisfied that the sister is no less kind and personally helpful now that she is relieved of the financial strain."

Whatever possibility exists of the State's being forced to care for the poor whose relatives can well afford to support them, it is easily safeguarded against and in every State has been successfully guarded against both by the law itself and by its administration.

#### 4. AN INHERENT DISTRUST OF DEMOCRACY

These laws in other States are based on a new recognition of social responsibility and of democratic interdependence.

The agencies organized for private charity in New York State seem to fear that the public, through their officials, cannot attain the same high order of efficiency which they claim to have reached. This is the most serious of their objections to public allowances to Widowed Mothers.

This is based on three grounds:

1. That public work can never be as flexible as private work.
2. That public officials cannot be found who will render the same high grade of devoted effort as can those engaged by private societies.

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\* The Survey, February 28, 1914.

3. That the mere existence of a public fund creates a grafting spirit among the poor and increases dependency.

Thus Miss Richmond, of the Russell Sage Foundation, testified:

\* "There seems not to be in public administration sufficient stability or flexibility of work nor adequacy of funds. My second point is public administrative awkwardness. The third drawback about public relief is the attitude of the public mind, and the attitude of the public mind is no new thing."

And Dr. Edward Devine said:

\* "Neither the City of New York nor the State of New York has a mechanism, nor can well develop a mechanism, for doing this work. I refer to fundamental conditions under which any bureaucratic scheme, any city department or State department, attempts to do this work. A city department or State department would have to do this work in accordance with very definite and pretty rigid rules. You can take into account such matters as residence and actual earning. You would have to establish certain definite objective, concrete standards. You would have to be able to justify the relief you gave in such a way as would satisfy religious, social and political friends. I do not say that that is impossible; I say that that could be done, but it is not the way in which the relief of widowed mothers, in my opinion, should be given. No scheme of pensions or public relief should be adopted for this particular group of families in trouble for lack of income, for that would, like all other outdoor relief, be obnoxious and injurious, would cultivate the pauper spirit, would increase pauperism, parasitism and dependents."

Mr. Otto T. Bannard expressed his fears quite bluntly:

\* "Widowed mothers present the strongest sentimental appeal and the very best case for this entering wedge towards

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\* Testimony, November, 1913.

State socialism. The battle cry is not alms, but their right to share. The subsequent steps are old age pensions, free food, clothing and coal to the unemployed and the right to be given work. It breeds candidates for alms, multiplies upon itself, represses the desire for self-help, self-respect and independence and inflicts upon its beneficiaries what is termed in England the government stroke of paralysis. It is not American; it is not virile."

This "cultivation of the pauper spirit," this "attitude of the public mind," is, of course, a menace to American civilization. Is it true, however, that such a menace will be fostered by outdoor public relief wisely given and carefully supervised? It has not been the experience in the twenty-one States where pensions are now being paid.

Dr. Graham Taylor, head of the Chicago School of Civics, testified:

"I fail to see that this law and its operation has increased dependency, and, as I said before, I think that under the present administration the law has not only wrought no harm to public welfare or persons to whom the Funds to Parents have been administered, but, on the whole, I think the administration of the fund has promoted the interests of both."

Miss Katherine L. Briggs, acting superintendent of the Chicago United Charities, testified:

"I do not believe that this law or a law like it could have an effect of creating or increasing dependency. It has, undoubtedly, increased the number of families given relief, but I can't say those families shouldn't have had relief. I think, in fact, most of them should have had relief."

In other words, more needy families were assisted, but all that were assisted were in need, and in no case has there been any "breeding candidates for alms," of which Mr. Bannard speaks. This has been the experience wherever the pension law has had a fair trial. Such few instances of graft as have arisen have been quickly apprehended by the authorities and prevented.

Mr. Matthews, in his report on "Shall We Pension Widows?" has best answered this objection. He says:

"It is doubtful whether widows' pensions can be dissociated from the idea of relief. In fact, does any program having for its purpose the relief of the afflicted, the caring for the aged, the succoring of the widow and fatherless, give any promise of such dissociation unless it be a comprehensive plan of social insurance to which all shall make contribution? After all, the name is not so important as the method of administration, the spirit in which the pensions are given and received. It will always be a fair question as to whether it is relief itself or the methods by which it is administered that encourages dependency and creates pauperism. There is always the danger that in our dread of making people dependent we shall cease to do good for fear of doing harm; that in our fear of demoralizing families by too regular relief we shall close 'cases' in the vague, uncertain hope that in some way they will 'shift for themselves,' when we know quite well they cannot. Try they may, but sooner or later we are called upon to go out and gather up the wreckage resulting from the uneven, futile struggle. There are in this city, as in others, thousands of men and women who have and who are now receiving years of education in preparatory schools, colleges and post graduate schools by aid of scholarships and money grants. They are given these funds in the hope and belief that they will some day make return to the community in the way of useful, helpful lives. The assumption is that they will. In precisely the same spirit should we supply in adequate measure an income to the families under discussion that shall give opportunity for education, health and all desirable development to these boys and girls until they at least arrive at working age, believing that such investment will be returned in the way of healthy, vigorous, red-blooded workers, an insurance against undervitalized, stunted, inefficient bodies, against breakage and wastage of future citizenship, against an increase in that part of our juvenile population that ever keeps

busy the machinery of juvenile courts, truancy schools, reformatories and other like institutions. Administered in this spirit it will make little difference whether we call them 'pensions,' or 'mothers' allowances,' 'compensation to mothers,' or some other more pleasing name."

And, he might have added, whether the help came from public or private sources.

### Social Service Becoming Public

The value of the friendly relations and the personal contact established between the relief agent and the needy family is very great and has been the most distinguishing feature of private charity over the old type of public relief. More and more has such service been recognized and adopted by the various departments of city government so that to-day it is perfectly possible to embody this form of administration in any scheme of public assistance.

Dr. Stanley Howe, in a paper on *The Development of Municipal Charities in the United States*, said:

"All these tendencies are characteristic of a new and higher ideal of social service. Communities have awakened to a new conception of the real meaning of neighborhood. The epoch-making movement for public health is characteristic of this new ideal. The establishment of playgrounds, recreation centers, juvenile courts, and the promotion of the child hygiene and baby-saving movement are indicative of this persistent upward trend. The growth of the campaign for housing reform is an important chapter in the same story. The municipal bath and the first city laundry have been established since 1898. The effort to socialize our school system is of recent origin.

"These signs of the new ideals are visible everywhere. The desire for community service is reaching into all departments of city governments. Municipal charities in the past decade have taken more vigorous forward strides than State charities, and in many sections of the country bid fair to overtake them.

"A sixth tendency in municipal charities has been the enlargement of the system of public outdoor relief through the establishment of widows' or mothers' pensions. Though the wisdom of this movement is still to be established by the facts, it is, at least, indicative of an increasing popular interest in social problems. This growing interest has been attended by a gradual change of attitude toward the various classes of dependents. The terms 'worthy poor,' 'pauper children,' 'almshouses,' and even 'charities and correction,' are bound to become eventually obsolete expressions of a forgotten vocabulary. For the old religious idea of complete individual responsibility has been substituted a new feeling of permanent social obligation."

Judge Julian W. Mack, ex-president of the National Conference of Charities and personally interested in all philanthropic movements, summed up this contention thus:

\* "Of course, private philanthropy has always in a measure dealt with the problem and has endeavored to keep the family together. Mere relief giving is generally worse than useless in philanthropic work. The entire end of private philanthropy has been to endeavor to make recipients self-reliant and self-supporting, to emphasize the element of personal service, to minimize the element of mere relief giving. Public philanthropy, on the other hand, has tended to degenerate into mere relief giving, and that is its great danger, although equally great is the danger of perversion of funds to undeserving, through political and other influences.

"These dangers, however, should not prevent the State from performing its due functions which should make those in charge of the work alive to the evils that must be avoided. There is no reason, however, why a City or State Commission charged with this particular function and authorized to employ both paid and volunteer helpers selected not through political influence, but for real ability in this line of work

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\* Testimony, February, 1914.



should not be able to do the work as well as private philanthropic societies.

"The law, however, should specifically provide for this. Men and women of the highest type should be selected to administer it. If this be done it can and should be carried out in exactly the same spirit in which private charity is doing its work, and with the one tremendous greater advantage that the State, in recognition of its duty, is supplying, as private charity seldom does, the full money needed properly to perform the work."

### The New Type of Public Social Worker

Public servants can be found who are as capable of fulfilling the requirements of such duties wisely and well, as can the employees of any private volunteer organizations. Indeed, because of the fact that the State can afford to pay much higher salaries than can the charities, and because of the natural pride that results from working for the State rather than for a private philanthropy, more and more highly trained, well-educated social workers are entering the field of public life, particularly in those departments that deal at first hand with the poor and the unfortunate.

Judge Mack said:

\* "I believe that until all the State activities are started with the same support that private philanthropic agencies have, private philanthropy is going to do its work better than the State, and will accomplish more with adequate means than the State will with adequate means, but we are gradually approaching the time when that same willingness to give one's time, talent and thoughts to private philanthropy will be extended to the State philanthropies, and I think we all ought to work toward making the activities of the State as fine as those of private philanthropy. I think we can do this more easily in just such work as this, which calls out the finest sentiments of the human race.

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\* Testimony, February, 1914.

"I think it is possible for public servants to efficiently and wisely administer a law such as the 'Funds to Parents' act in Illinois."

Mr. Frank Tucker, ex-president of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, said:

\* "I feel that there are evils inherent in governmental administration, governmental machinery that is devised to meet any and all social needs."

But later he testified:

\* "It is a test of the capacity of the community, it is a test of democracy, when the community arises to that occasion and says that our governmental servants are going to do this work according to adequate, according to an efficient standard, and I have not the fear that those evils cannot in time be overcome.

"I am connected with a body — The Bureau of Municipal Research — that has been engaged in the last seven or eight years in raising the standards of efficiency in the municipal departments of the city of New York, and I want to say here that my optimism is largely the result of that experience. We have known men who were perfunctory in the performance of their duty, and we have known departments that were inefficient to become inspired with the spirit of efficiency. We have known those very men, routine employees of a department, to go farther in their demands for an efficient standard than the very reformers who, in the first instance, stimulated them. Now, I have not that pessimistic attitude toward the impossibilities of getting efficient governmental administration. As I pointed out, we have several notable instances of a partnership between the State or municipal administrator and a volunteer citizen group, which have produced most efficient results. But if there were the stimulus of interested voluntary effort, plus the

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\* Testimony, November, 1913.

ideals of a rightminded department head, I myself feel reasonably optimistic, and my optimism is based on actual experience of what has happened in other city departments — I feel that it is possible to get reasonably the same degree of efficiency in a public department as we have in private work.”

Mr. John A. Kingsbury, then general agent of the New York Association for Improving the Conditions of the Poor, said:

\* “I do not hesitate to say that theoretically I have no objection to its being done by the government, and am rather inclined to think that that is what we are coming to sooner or later.”

It is interesting to note that Mr. Kingsbury was recently appointed Commissioner of the Department of Public Charities, and that his experience in public office has not altered his opinion.

Dr. Henry Moskowitz, the present president of the Civil Service Commission of New York City, writes:

† “In response to your inquiry whether, under civil service, men and women can be obtained to do social work for the government who have the same qualifications and the same standards as those engaged in work for private philanthropy, I write, very decidedly, ‘Yes.’ An intelligent, conscientious and efficient administration of the civil service includes setting of standards, experience and mental and moral qualifications which aim at recruiting a high type of public servant.

“In my short experience as Civil Service Commissioner, I am convinced that such standards can be maintained and proper examinations can be given which will bring to the service as high a type of public servant as can be found in private philanthropy, provided, however, adequate compensation is given.”

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\* Testimony, November, 1913.

† Correspondence, April 20, 1914.

Jane Addams, in a speech before the National Conference of Settlements, said:

\* "It is, of course, a matter of little consequence whether a carefully trained people devoting their time to the 'widow and the fatherless' are salaried from the donations of benevolent people or from the taxes which these same people and many others pay into the public treasury. The work of the 'Funds to Parents' department of the Cook county juvenile court is admirably conducted and has done great good."

H. H. Jacobs, headworker of the University Settlement of Milwaukee, said that:

† "As a rule, public officials could render such assistance more efficiently, honestly and judiciously than can the agents of private societies. The experience of Wisconsin proves that the State can attract a better class of workers at higher salaries than private philanthropy."

Mrs. Katherine Van Wyck, Secretary of the Associated Charities of Milwaukee, said:

† "I believe that public officials can do this work as well as the agents of private societies, all other things being equal."

Miss Minnie F. Low, of the Chicago Jewish Relief Society, said:

"The Juvenile Court administers the work splendidly. It couldn't be better done than under the present personnel."

### The High Standard of Public Social Work

Because of this fact, government aid to widowed mothers cannot be compared in any way with the public outdoor relief that was so corrupt in Brooklyn thirty-five years ago and is still so inefficient in many of the counties throughout the State. The entire

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\* National Federation of Settlements, 1913.

† Testimony, February, 1914.

standard of public service has developed wonderfully in the past few years, and public machinery can easily be devised to administer a relief fund far more adequate than that in the coffers of our charities, as ably, if not more ably, than they can. Were it not true that public work could equal the standard set by volunteer social organizations, it would be wise to turn back to philanthropy, our juvenile courts, libraries, milk stations, school nurseries and public schools, etc. Indeed, the same arguments that are at present brought up against government aid were used against each of these innovations into government, but each has proven to be more useful and efficient under public control than under private auspices. Thus, we find an ever increasing number of competent social workers in the employ of the municipality or county, going out of our courts, schools, hospitals and libraries into the homes of needy citizens.

Miss Gertrude Vaile, who is in charge of the "mothers' compensation" work in Denver, Colorado, said:

\* "Certainly, there is evident a new public attitude regarding government responsibility for the care of weak and destitute persons in the community. In Denver the Public Relief Department is trying to do real social service, seeking to understand and permanently improve the conditions of people in want. It has, therefore, accepted gladly its part of the task of the pensioned families, as setting something of a standard of relief and family rehabilitation desired for all needy families."

Dr. Graham Taylor, head of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy and at present president of the National Conference of Charities, believes that the way to heighten the standard of public service is to put more trust in it. He says:

"In my judgment, the best and about the only way in raising the standards of public efficiency is to put just such social responsibility upon the public administrators and hold them to the strictest account for the most efficient administra-

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\* The Survey, February 28, 1914.

tion. This could be done by a complete and wisely drawn statute, plus eternal vigilance from the outside."

In other words, he believes that private charity must continue to stimulate our public officials to a high sense of their responsibilities.

That this stimulus can be reciprocal is maintained by Judge Mack, who said:

\* "At the White House Conference on dependent children under President Roosevelt in 1910, in which there were about two hundred specialists in this sort of work, the resolution was unanimously adopted that no child should ever be taken away from a decent home because of the poverty of the home, and that thought is now being deeply impressed on the public at large, by reason of the fact that the State in these laws recognizes it as sound if we assume, and I believe the assumption is sound, that the action of the State is not going to try to tear up the strings of private giving; then the effect of this sort of thing will be to stimulate private philanthropy to work along these new and better lines."

#### **Public Work More Efficient Than Private**

With this growing army of social workers as a basis, public aid can be administered not as a handing out of money only, but for the rehabilitation of family life and for the constructive education in self-respect and self-reliance that is the aim of all relief work. Indeed, in some way, the State can do this better than any private agency. There is a very real, if perhaps unfounded, feeling of resentment on the part of poor people toward the agents of philanthropic organizations. The very idea of accepting "charity" is repugnant to many and this in itself negatives much of the advice given by the visitors. Nor are all of those visitors of the type which the organizations that employ them set up as their ideal and standard. For the most part, they are young girls who have had a very excellent training in the theories of social work, but extremely limited experience in these hardships of life which have

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\* Testimony, February, 1914.

borne with heaviest pressure upon the very women over whom they are given supervision. The charities, because of their lack of funds, are unable to pay them enough to attract long service, and many of those who do remain tend to become hardened under the long continued strain of endeavoring to be of real help to their families with the limited financial resources at their command. Then, too, the point of view drilled into the apprentices at the various schools of philanthropies is so technical and scientific as either to be discarded as unpracticable in the actual field work or to result in the tendency to regard all families as "cases" and to work on a basis that is more correct than human. The poor are quick to sense this and to resent it bitterly.

As was expressed by one of the speakers in the Fourth City Conference of Charities and Correction:

"Courses in philanthropy, criminology and sociology alone do not equip one to enter into the homes of the needy to pass judgment. Sympathy and insight must combine with knowledge if the poor, the sick, the criminal, the insane or any other class of unfortunates are to be helped. The saving grace of human kindness must be brought to bear upon their problems and difficulties."

This need is recognized by most charity workers in New York. Dr. Devine's report does not mince words on this point. We quote at length here in order that it may be discerned that the claims of philanthropists that private charity has a monopoly on intelligent and devoted service is without foundation:

"Consideration must be given to the causes for unsatisfactory results which lie within the societies or in their financial resources. The most glaring need, as shown by the case records, is one to which their officers and directors have long been alive, but which for various reasons still remains serious. This is the lack of a sufficient number of capable trained visitors to do the work of their relief departments. There is not merely a lack of training and of special ability for this work; there is a lack of a sufficient number of workers

of any kind. To each visitor is given responsibility for far too many families. Districts are too large. The pressure of emergent work is so severe that there is little opportunity for quiet, deliberate consideration about difficult situations. There is of necessity too much of perpetual emergency rush and too little time and insistence upon thorough and constructive plans.

"Even, however, if there were enough visitors and supervisors to do the work, it would not be satisfactorily done without a higher standard of selection, of professional preparation, and of compensation. This is a very distinct kind of service calling for altogether exceptional qualities. Mere physical endurance is severely taxed by it. The power to think — to observe, and to form sound judgments — is essential. No superior spiritual quality comes amiss in the complex human relationships which an investigation and the resulting care of a family involve.

"Professional training schools are now available for the more direct and complete preparation of those who have the general education and personal equipment required for this exacting work. By a preliminary study of methods and technique, and by supervised field work in connection with such study, a qualified candidate for social work will not only save the time and money of the society, but will lay the foundation for a kind and amount of genuinely helpful service that can scarcely be gained even by the most competent person who has had no such preliminary training. The number of such carefully selected and professionally trained social workers in the societies is increasing, and it is true that some of the most successful have not had such opportunities. Nevertheless, a substantial increase in the number of those who have had previous training to fit them specifically for this work would be most disadvantageous to the societies and to those whom they are called upon to serve. In at least four of the six societies it will be necessary to increase salaries substantially if such qualified and prepared visitors are to be secured and retained against the competition of other kinds of social work and other outside vocations which appeal to the



same kind of workers or, if, quite aside from such competition, visitors are to keep themselves physically and mentally fit for their work.

### **" Danger of Routine**

" The impression made by the examination of a large number of records in rapid succession is that the societies are in danger of falling into a narrow routine, covering only a comparatively small number of the items necessary to successful relief work. In most instances attention is paid to relief, even though the amount given may not be adequate; to appropriate relief responsibility, whether it should come for example from church, employer, lodge or relatives; to keeping wage earners at work; to emergency health needs; and to school attendance.

" Less often is serious attention given to fundamental health needs, to vocational interests of children, to discrimination between possible places of employment for wage-earners, to recreation, or to moral and spiritual influences. Grave suspicion of the immorality of the mothers has, in some instances, served as a reason for withdrawing relief, regardless of the children. Such a suspicion in the mind of a competent visitor is only ground for more careful and effective work.

" Visitors are sometimes too easily discouraged by a lack of co-operation on the part of the family or by unexpected complications. Investigations are often inadequate and the relief and service which should logically follow investigation are naturally inadequate also. There is too little individualizing of children, and in many cases no satisfactory account of the care which they receive while the mother is at work.

" No one can tell to what extent the amount available for relief is insufficient until competent service is the rule rather than the exception; but that in cases of need for continued relief the amount actually given is often inadequate, is certain.

### **"Records Do Not Tell the Whole Story"**

"In fairness to the societies it must be recognized that no case records can fully disclose the quality or amount of work done or the actual relations which often exist between a district secretary or visitor and her families. These personal relations may become a vital factor in securing most gratifying results which are not disclosed, because visitors are naturally reluctant to describe them. Records are not kept for the purpose of presenting the societies and their workers in a favorable light. They are kept mainly for a very practical purpose,—to enable the societies when action is necessary on behalf of the family to act intelligently, on the basis of previous experience, and without the necessity of repeating an investigation once thoroughly made. To explain in detail the reason for every decision, and to record every suggestion made and urged, or even every indication of progress, would be an intolerable tax upon the time of the visitors. No doubt some time might be saved by omitting from the records irrelevant and unimportant entries, but even greater discrimination in this respect would not make the records a safe, exclusive source of information."

That all private relief workers are of so high a grade that they could not be matched by public servants is also disputed by the Rev. Harvey P. Vaughn of the University Settlement, who said:

\* "My observation has been that the relief organizations, in dealing with cases, have a distinct tendency to pauperize them. They do that by giving them too little. Families, when they get too little, realize that they cannot exist upon that amount of relief, and they start on going the round toward getting relief from as many organizations as is possible for them to get in touch with. There have been families that have come to the University Settlement that have had as many as half a dozen organizations looking after them at one time. That has a bad effect on the children and on the home, because it takes into the home a great many people

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\* Testimony, November, 1913.

asking the same questions over and over again. I believe that the method commonly used is of taking the particular family, and if the individual who comes to them happens to be pleasant and appeals to the one who is giving the relief, they give better relief to them than if that particular individual is not very pleasant and does not know just exactly how to appeal. And I want to say very emphatically that the treatment that is given visitors from charity organization societies — that is, all relief societies, is not of the sympathetic kind. There have come cases to our attention where we thought that it would be necessary to take that particular visitor into court in order to prevent the harsh language and the severity, sometimes almost amounting to physical force. The shortness of the words used by the visitors has frequently caused people to suffer in preference to appealing a second time for help. Often it has been impossible for us to send a family in need of rent to the relief organization, because they said that if they went to the office they could not get any, and if the visitor called, there would be such an uproar carried into the house that it was distinctly bad. Though they needed the money very much they would not send for help. This is not an unusual thing.

“There seems to be a lack of policy for dealing, and no power of dealing, with families where an older member of the family does not agree to the entire policy or to the concrete method of dealing with the situation that the other visitor wants to use in that case. Where that is true the punishment falls back, often upon the children.

“I think that lack of the proper kind of visitors is due, perhaps, to the fact that the organizations haven't had funds enough to pay for their visitors, although some people have accused them of paying more for their visitors than anything else. They have lacked funds and have had to curtail expenses which has brought about a general spirit that has not been good for the families.”

One point that is particularly to be noted here is that of the large number of families each visitor is responsible for. This is

true of all the charitable organizations throughout the State; indeed, it is true everywhere where any society, public or private, is attempting to handle all the poor families in any community.

By singling out those applicants whose need is permanent and particular and dealing with them by a special department this evil has been done away.

Thus in the past year in Chicago, the officers in the Funds to Parents Bureau of the Juvenile Court have had thirty families to investigate and supervise while the agents of the United Charities have had 300.

Mrs. Katherine Briggs, acting general superintendent of the United Charities of Chicago, said:

\* "I have been observing the work done under this Funds to Parents Law in Illinois and I find it working out very well, indeed. I don't think there would be 18,000 families under care all the time, but during this year I suppose we had 18,000 applicants. That would make about 300 families to a visitor in the course of a year. The probation officers here have about 30. We haven't had any other such example of service to cases as this before — that is — the amount of service to a given case."

#### **The Inability to Make Private Aid Authoritative**

The resentment against "charity" and its investigations makes it difficult often for the relief agent to get the truth from the mother or make her co-operate in any "plan" that is decided by the "case" committee. Public aid, if given for the sake of the children, would be regarded in an entirely different light, and the supervision would be accepted in an entirely different spirit. In the first place, the original investigation which is so distressing to both the agent and the family is largely done away with under the pension laws, by reason of the fact that the mother must fill out a complete and comprehensive form and swear to the truth of her statements. This does away with a great deal of the lying which many applicants for relief take resource in, because they believe it to their advantage. The oath before a notary public, however,

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\* Testimony, February, 1914.

makes the application for relief a dignified ceremony and places her in the proper relationship at once with the State. So well have these forms been gotten up that they are now being used by the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.

Then, too, there is an element of authority behind the advice and decision of a public body that is seriously lacking at present. The only pressure a private charity can bring to bear upon a family that is not meeting its requirements is to withdraw the relief granted. In some instances this has been done even when the lack of assistance imperils the health of the children — in others, the charities, being unwilling to impose such hardships upon the innocent ones, allow conditions to remain that are injurious to the welfare of the family. If special need arises which lies beyond their resources, they can only apply to other bodies, and at once there comes into play the possibility of neglect through an honest difference of opinion among various social experts. For example, it is not rare to find a charity recommending that the children of a certain family be committed because of improper guardianship where the public officials refuse the request on the ground that there is insufficient evidence of wrongdoing. In the course of the controversy the family suffers.

\* "The most disastrous effect, from the standpoint of personal character of the volunteer and the voluntary agency, is that treatment is not and cannot be accompanied with any enforcement of obligation. The voluntary agency stands open to those who choose to accept it, and equally open to those who choose to leave it. It is perpetually drifting, whatever the intention of its promoters, into a curious kind of subsidy to the wayward impulses of those who are in need."

#### **A Combination of All Public Child Welfare Work**

The advantage that a public body has over a private organization is that once a decision is reached it can call upon other agencies, public or private, to co-operate in its enforcement. In the county or municipal board, which this Commission respectfully

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\* Sidney Webb, "Extension Ladder Theory." The Survey, March 7, 1914.

recommends, all the various local departments which bear directly with children are represented so that there would be complete harmonization of all the work for juveniles done in each community. Indeed, this board would be the basis for a State and local children's bureau patterned after that recently created in our own national government. Such a body could do much to shed light upon and defeat the forces of social degeneration which reap such a terrible harvest in the feeble-mindedness, disease and immorality among our children.

Because of this co-operation, the public authorities could co-ordinate the entire relief work of a community more effectively than at present, where, despite the efforts of organized charity, there is much overlapping and waste.

#### **A Registration Bureau Can Only Become All-Inclusive When It Becomes Public**

It is the practice and definite purpose of all charity organization societies to get relief from all available sources first and then, if necessary, to supplement it from their own treasuries. In some instances only can they command the co-operation of other agencies without such agencies making a separate investigation of their own. This duplication of effort results in three evils:

1. The utter waste of time and energy of the agencies.
2. The necessity of the applicant's going over and over again the details of her life history.
3. The pauperization of the needy family because of this opportunity — sometimes almost the necessity — of so varying the story so as to obtain as much help as possible.

Mr. Porter J. Lee of the New York School of Philanthropy said recently:

\* "A random list of those specialists who visit the poor at the present time would include charity organization workers, friendly visitors, parish visitors, relief society agents, medical social service workers, infant mortality nurses,

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\* Fourth New York City Conference of Charities, 1913.

maternity nurses, tuberculosis nurses, vocational guidance experts, visiting housekeepers and dietitians, settlement neighbors, truant officers, probation officers and many more. I was told recently by a New York settlement worker of a family who were receiving calls regularly from the representatives of thirteen different agencies for social work. From Chicago comes the story of a woman who, after receiving her fourth consecutive visitor in one afternoon, went over to the settlement nearby to express her gratitude that no one had called from there, 'there doesn't seem to be anything for the poor to do but to have office hours.' "

The Massachusetts Commission reported:

#### **Inexpediency of Aid from a Number of Agencies**

\* "Again, when the family is a worthy one, it seems useless to have its needs served by several agencies. First, such a procedure is wasteful of labor. Second, it runs the risk of being inefficient. With divided responsibility, as the cases of many families relieved show, a comprehensively devised plan of relief is difficult and, therefore, often absent. Third, the wisdom is doubtful of forcing a worthy widow to be beholden to a number of agencies. She must appeal to each, she must thank each, she is visited by agents from all. It cannot be surprising if, with such elasticity of the possibilities of aid, she declines in self-dependence and acquires the habit of seeking aid. So may she be pauperized. Where the family is not, in the first place, a worthy one, the existing complicated system has the advantage of compelling that frequent visitation which is desirable, both as a check on wasteful expenditure and as a means of instruction to better expenditure."

We have pointed out that the private charities have been shortsighted in their opposition to State aid to the widowed mother

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\* Massachusetts Commission on the Support of Dependent Minor Children of Widowed Mothers.

because of their own inability to cope with the problems and their own air of superiority over the government.

If we search but a little beyond these objections we find that philanthropy is of itself aristocratic and fashionable.

### 5. Twice Blessed Charity

Inherent in the organizations of private charity is the undemocratic spirit that "noblesse oblige." The theory is accepted that the "fiddler plays the tune" and that he who supports a charity can dictate its policies. This principle is sound, without doubt, if the gift of money is accompanied with the gift of personal service—it is not true otherwise.

There is evident among the larger philanthropists of to-day a feeling that the poor are ordained on earth in order that they—the rich—may develop their pious generosity. Aid is given the good mother with dependent children, not because of her need, not even because of the interdependence of her welfare and that of the State, but because of the aristocratic principle of a social duty to the lower classes. This would, of course, be destroyed if the people themselves undertook to abolish poverty and care for their dependents.

Mr. Jacob H. Schiff recently said:

\* "Woe to the day when the State is made to take over from the individual his duty to the dependent."

Mr. Robert de Forrest stated:

† "If the duty of helping their less fortunate neighbors were taken off the shoulders of those who are able to help by having the city or State assume that burden, much of the neighborly intercourse between the poorer and the richer would cease. Public outdoor relief makes for a class separation and the enmity of classes. Private charity makes for brotherhood of men."

Surely we have ceased to believe this. Surely we will all be-

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\* Annual Meeting Emanuel Sisterhood, 1913.

† Testimony, November, 1913.



lieve that the truth was more clearly expressed by Miss Flaherty of the Church of the Messiah:

\* "The idea that it is done as a philanthropy, that the relief given to widows is charity, is one of the worst handicaps, I think, because the most self-respecting widows, the widows whom you want most to help, will not accept it, because their children would become dependents on the rich."

Surely all of us, whatever may be our conception of "social justice," believe that the child must not be left to the care of the charitable, but has a right to be protected and cared for by the State. Every stage of progress in child caring has met with this same objection from well-intentioned philanthropists. Public schools, public libraries, public textbooks, public school lunches were all attained over this same sort of opposition. Strange as it seems, we are told that the "brotherhood of man" ceases at the very point when all men as brothers unite democratically to help their children, and is only developed when the few help the many through "charity."

This conception is a relic of the days when to be charitable was a religious duty and when it was sincerely believed that the poor were created that the fortunate might attain holiness by graciously granting relief to their humble brothers.

This viewpoint was admirably expressed in the report of the Brooklyn Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor in 1892:

"'The poor shall never cease out of the land.' This is the dictum of Divine revelation, and in spite of every effort of the succeeding generations of the philanthropic, it remains, like every other Divinely attested truth, without gainsaying. Civilization advances, human conditions change, governments adjust their policies to suit the demands of increased enlightenment, and larger claims for the recognition of man's brotherhood to man. And even Christianity lends its vast and ever increasing influence for ameliorating human needs, yet, however altered its phases, the fact re-

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\* Testimony, November, 1913.

mains — 'The poor ye have with you always.' It seems a part of the purpose of God that the needy and the helpless should lay perpetual claim to the sympathies and generosity of their more favored fellows, thus serving as a constant means of cultivating an unselfish spirit and supplying a sufficient incentive for the exercise of intelligent liberality on the part of His earthly stewards."

This spirit is stoutly rejected by the foremost charity workers of the country. But, apparently, it still exists among those who grant to the poor not service, but money.

Yet even with this class of philanthropists it has not succeeded sufficiently to make the rich fulfill their words by works.

There are really two questions involved here. The first is: Can the private charities of New York State raise enough money to meet all the needs of the poor in their homes? The second is: Would it be desirable for them to do so?

We believe the correct answer to both of these questions is NO.

In February, 1878, the bulletin of the Brooklyn A. I. C. P. made the following statement:

"We are sure that the poor will not be left without helpers, and that the help they will receive from other than public sources will benefit rather than hurt them, will lift them up rather than degrade them. We do not believe that the good people of Brooklyn need to have their contributions for the poor extorted from them at the tax office. We believe they are glad, even in hard times, to give and give freely for the relief of those who are really in want. Let them give their contributions to trustworthy societies, and let these gird themselves for an increased and better work."

This statement sums up excellently the old fears of government action and the faith in the privileged aristocracy.

The "good" people of Brooklyn did not give freely in their contributions to trustworthy societies; moreover, the really good people do not consider taxation for the home welfare of their fellow citizens "extortion."

Yet, in 1914, we still find traces of the traditional and the fearsome distrust of democracy.

Mr. William Hard has best summed up the other side in his article on "The Moral Necessity of State Funds to Mothers:"

\* "To these questions there is no answer except the one currently given, namely, that the private societies, though not giving 'adequate relief,' were, and are, moving toward the giving of it rapidly.

"A typically 'private-enterprise-individual-initiative' position is taken in this matter by many of the opponents of 'State funds to mothers.' They say that the private charities can rise to the level of adequacy and that the public systems are much less likely to do so, because, as one of the leaders of one of the largest charities in Chicago expressed it to me the other day, the resources of private charity are 'virtually unlimited,' while the resources of the public treasury are 'fixed.'

"May I be pardoned for saying, in the midst of an otherwise moderately good-natured argument, that this is what I have been hearing for years from traction people and real estate exchanges and bondholders' committees and all the other elements in society which seem to believe that there is money enough in the world for all luxuries except taxation?

"The advocates of 'State funds to mothers,' on the contrary, are among those who believe that if the money is there to be contributed to the private societies it is there to be coerced into the public treasury, and that the coercion is going to happen.

"Here, again, I am convinced, we split not on facts but on principles, policies. Mr. Carstens would improve the situation by whipping up the business man in his capacity as a philanthropist. I would whip up that same man in his capacity as taxpayer. From his own standpoint, incidentally, and for the good of his own soul, since he has to pay the bill anyway, and ought to pay it, I would have him do so in the manner least calculated to tempt him toward think-

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\* The Survey, March, 1913.

ing that he is performing an act of moral grandeur when he is really performing an act of elementary civic routine."

Dr. John L. Elliott, speaking on "The Modern Theory of Charity," said:

"And so far as it is possible to have the State supply the funds for these undertakings, it seems to me that with due process and with due regard to the machinery, which we must all regard because we have to use it all the time, we should all say let the time come as soon as possible when the struggling people of our tenement houses shall really be adequately helped. I would like to see the time when the poor are not regarded as objects of charity; when we come to learn more than we have learned yet of the functions and the limitations of the specialist; when we recognize that the great source of charity is not going to be simply the rich person, but all the people. Then we will have come to some idea of democracy. When democracy really comes, we shall do away with poverty, but never until then."

Miss Gertrude Vaile, Supervisor of Relief in Denver, Colo., has put the matter even more bluntly:

"If, then, a mother is personally well fitted to give that care and training, but is prevented by a condition of poverty impossible for the family itself to change, it would seem properly and logically the duty of the State to take cognizance of that condition, and to provide necessary means for the care of the children.

"Moreover, it is the democratic thing to do. When the father dies, why should a good mother have to depend upon the alms of her more fortunate neighbor for the opportunity to perform her natural and civic duty of bringing up her children — even if her more fortunate neighbors are willing and able to give such alms? And the question will persist in rising whether, after all, they are quite willing and able, even with all the magnificent work the private societies have done."

### State and Volunteer Aid Complementary

Government aid would not in any way hamper the scope of private philanthropy but would, rather, relieve it of some of a part of its present overwhelming burden and thus release it to a field of usefulness more peculiarly its own. To again quote from Mr. Sidney Webb:

"In every branch of social work, with regard to every conceivable class of case, there is the utmost need for the initiative, inventiveness and the practical experimenting which voluntary agencies have so much at their command. Moreover, there is practically no part of the field in which we do not find particular kinds of need which require and which would repay the devotion of their service of any amount of individual care and thought and money altogether disproportionate to their statistical importance which it is seldom within the power of any public authority to bestow."

The fear that the assumption by government of this all-important task would "dry up the sources of private relief," is a bugaboo that is wholly unworthy of any sincere social worker. Nor has it acted thus in other communities where such public work is being conducted. There will always be those who are sufficiently interested in social welfare to support all legitimate endeavors to develop the new lines of social advance.

Dr. John L. Elliott, in his address before the Fourth New York City Conference of Charities, said:

"As to the drying up of the well springs of charity by passing any law which might relieve some private charity of part of its work, I want to say just one word. I do not believe that the well springs of charity in human hearts depend upon any human organizations at all. I believe that increasingly the people of this city and community have made up their minds that these conditions shall not be, and that it is not the charitable society that produces the charitable giving, but the people who give, and that it is the new light that is coming through a closer knowledge of the situation that has

brought the greater giving and will continue to bring the greater giving through the years to come."

Judge Julian Mack testified:

"I can see, from the work the private charitable agencies have been doing, that a law of this kind might have a tendency to reduce voluntary subscriptions, but I don't think that it actually has, and I have no fear that it will, because the field for philanthropic giving of all kinds is so tremendous, no matter how much the State does, there is room left for philanthropy."

Mr. Sherman C. Kingsley of the Elizabeth McCormack Memorial Fund of Chicago testified:

"I don't believe a law of this kind or the enactment of this law has had any serious effect upon the voluntary contributions that come into the private charitable agencies. I don't think it has had that effect on any of the charities in Chicago."

Surely, however, there is no need here for argument. The effect in which the State is concerned is not that upon the charitable societies, but upon the people themselves. It is the suffering of the poor and not the poverty of the organization which we are trying to prevent. It cannot be countenanced as an argument by those who have the interest of the poor sincerely at heart.

## CHAPTER IV

### "Widows' Allowances" a Constructive Measure

It cannot be emphasized too strongly that government aid to the worthy widowed mother is not only a palliative measure, but is genuinely remedial as well. Not only is this true because of the fact that it conserves home life and, therefore, furthers the welfare of the State, but, also, because it will awaken the social consciousness of the people to a recognition of the larger reforms that are needed in our industrial system if we are truly to wipe out

poverty. Private philanthropy can and has been the leader in this awakening. But not until the people themselves bear the burden of the widows' dependency will they be willing to undertake the prevention of widowhood. Entirely too many men die of preventable diseases, who have never been able to earn enough because of the low standard of wages to procure an insurance adequate to the needs of their family. The adoption and enforcement of laws looking toward the introduction of proper working conditions, adequate wages, and compulsory social insurance are urgently needed. But these reforms will never come into being until the people themselves realize their economic as well as their social value, and demand their adoption universally. The assumption by the public of the cost of present day misery is an essential step toward its prevention in the future. Rather than retard the process of other social legislation, it will greatly stimulate its advance.

#### **A Necessary Part of Social Legislation**

Public assistance to the widow for the proper home education of her children is and always will be a necessary and proper function of government. Although workmen's compensation, and the like, will do much to prolong the life of the worker and protect the interests of those dependent upon him, there will always be until the millenium a class of men who, through inefficiency, illness or depravity, will be unable to leave at their death enough for the proper maintenance of their family. It is the duty of the community to help, protect and, if need be, punish him during his lifetime. It is just as much, if not more, the duty of the community to provide for his children in such a way that they shall not follow in his footsteps, but shall become self-reliant and self-respecting citizens.

Home scholarship funds for orphaned children are thus as much a part of constructive legislation as social insurance and is complementary to it. Not only is this sound in theory, but it has proven true in all the great countries of Europe, where compulsory insurance systems have been in operation for upwards of thirty years. There is no one law or one system that can adequately grapple with the hydraheaded problem of poverty — and

it is absurd to think that the enactment of one principle of social advance into law will hinder in the furtherance of another. The people of the great State of New York are at present stirred by the unnecessary poverty of the widowed mother with dependent children and are determined to prevent its continuance through their own public resources. This demand founded upon this great need must be recognized and yielded to by all who are truly interested in democratic social progress.

### Vocational Guidance

One of the greatest causes of poverty is the lack of trade training of the men and women in this country. Our educational authorities have at last awakened to the need of vocational training and this is being supplied in the various trade and commercial schools. In no instance is it more important that the child receive the benefit of such training than in the family of the widowed mother. The girls and boys must be kept in the school not only until they pass the standards set by our Department of Health, but until they are fitted to do real constructive work in the community that will forever lift them and their own families above the line of dependency. Private charity often prevents such training by counting upon the earning capacity of the child as soon as he is enabled by law to receive his working papers. Thus, a new generation is being brought up in the community from those very families in which efforts are being made to rehabilitate them.

Dr. Devine states:

\* "Vocational guidance may ultimately be expected from the public school system. Even the actual teaching of a trade or preparation for commercial positions may become the rule. So long, however, as such facilities are as rare as they are at present and limited mainly to high school grades, there will be urgent need of giving increased attention to the exceptional danger that in these families of working widows the interests of the children will be completely sacrificed; that they will go into occupations in which the only induce-

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\* Report of Special Conference, 1914.



ments are an immediate wage to replace or supplement the mother's earnings. The importance of such service has been appreciated but recently, and the charitable societies, occupied with more obvious wants, have given scant attention to vocational guidance; but the rising standard of service set by them does include it. They are staunch upholders of child-labor laws, but they rarely extend aid to permit children to obtain vocational training after they reach working age."

Later Dr. Devine says:

"Public pensions and voluntary relief are alike impotent to solve the problems of industry and education."

This is, of course, true; it is, in fact, a truism that sheds little light upon the problem. For while neither public pensions nor any other problem of social legislation can solve an industro-educational problem it can eliminate the elements of economic necessity which hitherto prohibited the application of any possible solution.

For it is sheer economic necessity that forces the mother to send her children to work at the earliest possible moment. Dr. Devine himself recognizes this by saying:

"This grievance, is one of which thinking widows themselves complain far more bitterly than of any hardships in their own employment. That their children, as they come of working age, should inevitably be pushed into occupations in which there is no future, no chance for promotion, no investment of the valuable early years in such a way as to yield returns in later life, is an experience not limited to widows, but one in which the likelihood is increased in their case by the need felt for a maximum income from their earnings at the earliest possible moment. However, the mothers are quick to see the price which they pay for this relief. They would willingly enough work even harder than they do and make greater sacrifices if this could result in securing permanent and reasonably remunerative work for their children with the prospect of advancement. There is no difficulty

about finding jobs for the young boys and girls leaving school, but they are useless jobs, except from the point of view of immediate income. Boys and girls are going into these useless jobs and the community has invented no adequate protection against this unsocial and uneconomic demand."

The report of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, in reporting on the 431 widowed families whom they are seeking to pension, states:

"The occupations of the boys and girls are too varied to permit of practical classification. Undoubtedly, the tendency is to get the children to work as soon as school grade permits and to choose the occupation that promises at once the largest wage, a procedure not due to indifference on the part of parents and visitors to the child's future as much as to the necessity of the child supplementing the family's income as early and as fully as possible."

Efforts are now being made in this and other States to enforce the Child Labor Laws, to prohibit tenement manufacture, and to raise the compulsory education age to sixteen. Were these efforts successful, it would bring great hardship to bear in the majority of workingmen's families. We must re-establish our whole standard of wages and redistribute our system of risk if we are to cut off from the family one of its most reliable sources of income—the wage of the children. The State must see to it that the man is considered as the working unit of the family and that his wages are sufficient to maintain his family at a decent standard of living. Where the man is dead and the wife is needed in the house as the guardian and teacher of her children, the State must provide financially for that home support and that mother care.

Dr. Devine in trying to stem the tide of battle between the friends and opponents of the early "pension laws" based his position on the following statement:

"We 'charity people' are reproached because we do not give a clear-eyed affirmative answer to the question as to whether 'relief is adequate,' or else join with those who

advocate 'state pensions.' But the fallacy lies in the inquiry. Is education now adequate? Is religion adequate? Is justice adequate? Those who 'distinctly evade' a question which is in itself fundamentally absurd are the only ones who give it the correct answer.

"The desirability of state pensions does not turn upon the adequacy or inadequacy of voluntary relief, but upon the prospective results of the state pensions. Will they prevent commitments to institutions or increase them? Will they increase or diminish the actual amount of neglected poverty in the community? Will they increase or diminish the number of independent, self-supporting, self-respecting citizens? Will they strengthen or undermine character? Will they operate beneficially or injuriously upon the relation between the individual and the state and upon the relations of citizens to one another? Will they socialize or pauperize the nation?" \*

There is little need to answer the charge made herein that it is "fundamentally absurd" to ask whether "relief is adequate." The facts today speak for themselves. Twenty-one states have adopted "mothers' assistance" laws despite the obstinate and often blind opposition of organized charity. Slowly but surely all over the country the "charity people" themselves are being won over to the principles and becoming the heartiest friends of the administration of these laws. Indeed, at present it is doubtful whether any charitable agency in New York State will dispute longer the need for or the propriety of some form of State aid for widowed mothers with dependent children.

The reason for this cessation of opposition is the fact that the laws in other states are succeeding admirably and are accomplishing the very results which Dr. Devine here questions. Home assistance will not empty our orphan asylums, but it will unquestionably prevent the future commitment of children who have a competent mother of their own. It will diminish the amount of neglected poverty both in granting actual assistance in many in-

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\* The Survey, April 1, 1913.

stances and by forcing the community to a sharper realization of its social obligations. It will increase the number of independent self-respecting self-supporting citizens since it will conserve and nurture the homelife of those children who might otherwise lapse into dependency or delinquency.

### Public Health

As has been stated hitherto, widowhood is the second general cause of dependency, the first being the incapacity of the breadwinner. This incapacity may range from the lack of an intelligent trade training to the inheritance of a physical weakness. Assistance in the home cannot solve the problems of public health and public morality any more than it can those of industry and education, if we accept Dr. Devine's reasoning. But if we search further into the vicious circle that surrounds the daily life of the poor and sympathetically understand how their weaknesses, their vices, their incapacities all focus on their poverty, it becomes clear that in many homes where there is a good mother, adequate aid can help her keep her children from becoming in their turn incompetent parents of future dependent families.

The sheer under-nourishment of so many of our children counts as a great factor in the development of that incapacity of so many of our breadwinners. There has been a tendency in late years to recognize this, and to attempt to overcome it by a doublejointed system of teaching the mother dietetics and providing free meals for the children in the schools. Surely our theory in regard to food relief is very confused and the only excuse for the continuance of campaigns for these conflicting methods is the absolute need that exists among children for sufficient nourishment.

To be truly constructive we must turn again to the family as our unit. We must perhaps educate some mothers in the fundamentals of sanitation and dietetics, but surely, first we must see to it that they all have enough money to purchase the necessary food for the children. School breakfasts and school lunches may long be necessary—but in every home where the mother is a moral guardian our chief aim must be to assist her in her efforts to furnish three wholesome meals a day in that home. The ignorance of the widowed mother is often referred to, and it is un-

doubtedly a menace to the health of the family. But the indefatigable cleverness of those mothers in keeping body and soul together on their meagre allowances has not been sufficiently emphasized.

Home-cooking can be taught by public or private dietitians alike. It is essential that the State undertake such training — but only as a part of the administrative machinery of granting assistance in the worthy home. Malnutrition is a directly contributory cause of disease and degeneracy which in turn result again in incompetency and dependency. The granting of generous home assistance, properly attended by educational supervision will prove a great step forward in the conservation of our public health and social virility. It will offer an opportunity for the development of those basic qualities of motherhood and childhood which make for character and citizenship. It will make society pay the cost of its own social ills and make the victims of social cruelty look with trust upon the great State instead of with humiliating gratitude upon private charity. It will pauperize no one and socialize us all.

This is proven true by the experience of the many states that have adopted such laws.

#### **The Allied Laws in Other States and the Lessons They Teach**

Based as it is on common sense and common sympathy, it seems but natural to find that legislation aiming at this conservation of homelife sprang up spontaneously in several different communities throughout the country and from various channels of government. It is remarkable to record, however, that since 1911 a "Mothers' Pension" law has been placed on the statute books of twenty states and that in the years 1913 and 1914 the question was being agitated in the legislatures of thirty-two states and in Congress. California, Illinois and Missouri amended the laws that had previously been enacted. Idaho, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Utah, Washington and Wisconsin passed pension legislation, while in Arizona, Connecticut, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi, New York, North Dakota, Tennessee, Texas and West Virginia the agitation

for similar legislation was unsuccessful. Four states — California, Massachusetts, New York and Wisconsin — created Commissions to study the whole question. Of these, the Massachusetts Commission on the Support of Dependent Minor Children of Widowed Mothers rendered a full report in 1913, strongly endorsing the principles of state aid to worthy parents of dependent children. The California and Wisconsin Commissions are at present investigating the problem, but as the principle of such assistance is already accepted in these communities it is unlikely that they will do more than recommend an improved machinery for putting these principles into effect.

These laws vary greatly in detail both as to the requirements of the applicant and the method of granting assistance. In general, however, there are three departments of government which gave rise to a "mothers' pension" system, and which have largely regulated the method of administration selected in each State. These branches of government all come in intimate contact with the problem of the dependent children of overburdened mothers and each undertook the granting of home assistance as a naive extension of their regular duties rather than as a conscious and deliberate introduction of new social principles.

#### Administration Through the School Department

Thus Oklahoma included in its general scheme of public education the payment to children of indigent widowed mothers a "school scholarship" equal to the amount they could earn if they went to work. This is a form of assistance that has been used for many years by the social settlements and child-labor societies of the country, and is in itself an interesting development in the extension of our belief in public education. This same principle is recognized in the laws of Michigan and New Hampshire.

Miss Estelle Blair, Assistant Commissioner of the Department of Charities and Corrections of Oklahoma, writes as follows:

"You will see that it is our intention only to pay these scholarships, as they might be termed, when a child under 16 years of age is necessarily kept out of school to earn support for a widowed mother. The County Superintendent of Public Instruction has general oversight over this, and under

the provisions of our Juvenile Court Law, wherever failure to comply with the Compulsory Education Law is made one of the forms of delinquency which the said court has cognizance of it also gives the juvenile judge and his probation officer jurisdiction in the matter.”\*

But Miss Blair adds later:

“I wish to advise you that our law in its present form is not one that you would want to copy after.”\*

### Administration Through the Courts

In 16 of the 21 States now granting State aid to parents the administration of these funds is effected directly through the Juvenile Courts or at least the courts having jurisdiction over juveniles. Thus in Idaho it is the Probate Court and in New Jersey it is the Court of Common Pleas; in Colorado, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington and Wisconsin the Juvenile Court has final jurisdiction over all cases of home assistance.

Both in Kansas City and in Chicago where this form of court work originated, the first attempts at home relief were made without much serious consideration to the great principles of social legislation involved.† The first law in Illinois consisted of only 8 lines and stated:

“If the parent or parents of such dependent or neglected child are poor and unable to properly care for the said child, but are otherwise proper guardians and it is for the welfare of such child to remain at home, the court may enter an order finding such facts and fixing the amount necessary to enable the parent or parents to properly care for such child; and thereupon it shall be the duty of the county board, through its county agent or otherwise, to pay to such parent or parents at such times as said order may designate the amount so specified for the care of such dependent or neglected child until further order of the court.”

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\* Correspondence, October, 1913.

† Funds to Parents Act, Illinois, 1911.

Obviously, the framers of this bill were ignorant of the difficulties and dangers of relief work and unaware of the urgent necessity for accompanying the grants of assistance with educational supervision. To them and to the judges who first undertook this task, it was a matter of sympathy and sentiment. Back of many of the pitiful cases that came into the Juvenile Courts they saw the underlying need of enough food to eat, clothing to wear, room to live in and time to love and play in. Many of the little offenders against the majesty of the law were in truth helpless victims of the might of social injustice. The father dead, the mother working, working all day long — the income too small for family nurture — what more natural and inevitable than that the children should become delinquent. So, and rightly so, contended these judges, and they passed their laws giving them power to grant relief on the unanswerable argument that the best way to keep the child out of court was to keep the mother in the home.

Later when the necessity of adequate investigation and supervision was made apparent — Illinois remodelled its law — creating a special bureau for the administration of the "funds to parents" act. This bureau is as fully equipped with competent investigators, dietitians, friendly visitors, committees and directors as any charity organization in the country and the method of determining the worthiness of the mother and amount of relief necessary is as sympathetic and if anything, more exhaustive than that employed by private charities. Perhaps, particularly in Chicago, because of the wholehearted endeavor of Judge Pinckney and the splendid coöperation of public officials and private social workers alike, the granting of "Aid to Parents" has been successfully undertaken by the Juvenile Courts.

Yet everywhere the judges deplore the necessity for their extending their function and advise strongly that the dependent families be assisted entirely outside of the court that is primarily intended for delinquents. While all the members of the Advisory Committee of the Court in Chicago testified that it was most fortunate from a local political viewpoint that the "Funds to Parent Act" had been placed in the hands of the Juvenile Court, they all agreed that in theory it should be widely separated from the activities of the court, though some maintained



the judge should retain partial control. Judge Pinckney himself preferred that such assistance should be administered elsewhere.

Miss Minnie F. Low, of the United Jewish Charities of Chicago, in supporting this view of Judge Pinckney, stated:

"I think a great many mothers who are sensitive, self-respecting and refined and who have never been in a court room, do feel some hesitation about coming to a court of this kind, and on general principles (the relief administration) ought to be a body to itself." \*

Judge Harvey H. Baker, of the Juvenile Court of Boston, Mass., writes:

"I do not at all favor administrating widows' pensions through the Juvenile Court. I think it is very undesirable that a worthy woman should have to go to any kind of a court to get relief, and I think it particularly unfortunate that she should have to go to a court where the bulk of the children's cases are those in which the child has in some way violated the law, and where many of the adult cases are those of undeserving parents who have neglected their children and are being prosecuted for that neglect." †

Local conditions of course vary the opinions of social workers on this point. Yet the Commission feels safe in stating that there is a growing tendency throughout the country to divorce the administration of public assistance to widowed mothers with dependent children from the treatment of youthful offenders of the law which is the inherent function of the Juvenile Court.

One lesson that has been taught, however, by this form of jurisdiction is the possibility and the educational value of inquiring into the family history of all applicants for relief by means of a formal blank to be made out and sworn to by the applicant herself. Not only is this a more dignified and self-respecting process than subjecting a widow to the cross-examination of an investigator, but also the signing of the affidavit and the knowledge that all statements are made under oath produces far more truthful

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\* Testimony Feb. 1914.

† Correspondence October, 1913.

answers than does the grilling method now generally in vogue among private charities. That this is so is proven not only by the testimony of the officials in the West, but by the experience of the N. Y. Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, who have adopted a form for their own pension cases, which comprises the best features of the forms used in the Juvenile Courts. Mr. Matthews, the director of the Bureau of Family Rehabilitations of this Society, regards this blank with its attached affidavit as an integral factor in the success which has crowned their own limited work in pensioning widows.

#### Administration Through the Local Officials

Massachusetts is unique among the States in that it leaves the dispensing of the pension funds to the overseers of the poor in each locality, with a provision for supervision by the State Board of Charities. This system has the advantage of course of making use of the already existing machinery for outdoor relief, but it has many disadvantages as well. The lack of uniform standards of adequacy of relief were obvious from the first and the State Board at once drew up a set of rules for the overseers to follow in their judgments of applications. To a surprising extent this standardization has been successful and the relief work has become reasonably uniform. This is due more to the fact that the State Board can enforce its views by refusing to reimburse the county if they are not adopted, than by the actual educational value of the ideas themselves. It is only fair to state, however, that the operation of this law has done much, both to educate the overseers and to arouse the people to the need of investigations and supervision of dependency.

It is apparent that such a system will not have similar results unless the actual supervisory body has the absolute control of the funds to be granted and until the local relief officials are chosen on some basis other than a war record, a political party preference, or personal influence.

One weakness that has already cropped out in Massachusetts is that under this system the public, and sometimes the overseer himself, cannot differentiate between the recipients of the "Mothers Aid" and paupers receiving outdoor relief, although

the original law clearly draws a distinction. Thus the Rev. Dr. Maurer, of Edwards Church, and Mr. Wm. E. Shannon, Overseer of the Poor at Northampton, Mass., quote a letter written from one overseer to another about the time this law went into effect.

"Have you the right to use your pauper funds to aid in accordance with this Mothers Aid Act? The Supreme Court has said in 28th Mass. 540, that persons claiming aid for themselves or families from the appropriation made for the support of the poor are paupers?" \*

Here we see varying principles confused because the machinery is identical.

Another difficulty that can be avoided by the adoption of a different administrative system is that mentioned later in this same paper. Messrs. Maurer & Shannon report that:

"So far as we can learn in nearly every instance (of Mothers Aid) private aid has decreased and in many cases private aid has ceased."

This they argue is wrong since it cuts off the needy family from all the stimulating help and advice that the private societies are supposed to have in store and which the ordinary overseer cannot supply. Evidently there has not been in practice the active coöperation between agencies that there should have been. The Rev. Mr. Maurer states this position in the following way:

"We would make the appeal in this paper for a more constructive relationship between the Overseers of the Poor and private charity. There should be a shifting in the average community from the condition in which private charity in the aid of a family tries to get the most out of the town, to the condition where the town in its effort to defend the home-life of a fatherless home, tries to get as much as it can from private charity." †

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\* Address at Mass. State Conference of Charities — November, 1914.

† Mass. State Conference of Charities, November, 1914.

This is directly the opposite experience and spirit from that in Chicago, where the first effort made by the Juvenile Court Judge was to appoint an Advisory Board, comprising all the leading social workers of the city and created to stimulate and formulate the heartiest and sincerest coöperation between public and private officials interested in relief work.

Because of the need of such coöperation in some states and its partial attainment in others, this Commission has conceived its plan of a Board of Child Welfare, which would bring to bear upon the problem of distribution of public aid for the conservation of widows' homes the combined wisdom, experience and influence of all public authorities and representatives of the private social agencies of the community, dealing directly with dependent children.

#### Minor Differences in These Laws

The various States that have adopted "pension" laws have naturally adopted the details of administration to the local conditions in their own communities. The accompanying chart on page — presents these variations in a way that makes comparison simple.

Several organizations have published written comparisons of these laws including the "Delineator," the American Association for Labor Legislation and the University of Washington. But the best expressed and most complete account of these laws is to be found in the address of Hon. David F. Tilley — a member of the Massachusetts State Board of Charities — before the National Conference of Catholic Charities, held at Washington in September, 1914. We quote herewith at length from this paper:

"The purpose underlying all these laws is that of preventing the breaking up of the home when on account of death or disability the support of the natural breadwinner of the family is removed. The methods adopted to secure this end vary widely in the different States, as will be seen from the following summary of the laws:

"Persons to whom aid may be given.— The law applies to any parent who on account of poverty is unable to care properly for a dependent or neglected child but is otherwise a

proper guardian, in Colorado and Nebraska; to any parent or grandparent in Nevada; to any parent or guardian in Wisconsin. In the other States it applies only to mothers. In California, New Jersey, Oklahoma (and also in St. Louis) the mother must be a widow to receive the benefits of the act. In the remaining States not only widows, but the following other classes of mothers with dependent children are included: In Idaho, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Ohio, Oregon, South Dakota and Washington, mothers whose husbands are in prison; in Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Oregon and Washington, mothers whose husbands are in State insane asylums; in Illinois, Minnesota, Ohio, Oregon, South Dakota and Washington, mothers whose husbands are totally incapacitated, physically or mentally; in Michigan, Ohio (if deserted three years), Pennsylvania and Washington (if deserted for one year), deserted wives. In Michigan are included also unmarried and divorced mothers. The law in Massachusetts applies to all mothers with dependent children who shall have resided in the Commonwealth not less than three years. In Colorado, Oregon and Wisconsin, if the person having custody of the child is not regarded as capable of expending the aid wisely, the court may order it to be paid to some other person for the benefit of the child.

“Conditions on which aid is given.

“(a) Degree of poverty.—The condition of receiving aid under these laws is uniformly that of poverty, with certain definitions added in some of the laws. For instance, in Washington the mother must be destitute; in New Hampshire and Utah she must be dependent entirely on her own efforts for support; in Oregon, wholly or partly dependent; in Illinois she may not own real property or personal property other than household effects. In Idaho, Illinois, Missouri, New Hampshire, Ohio, South Dakota and Utah the aid must in the judgment of the court be necessary to save the child from neglect; in New Jersey, from becoming a public charge. In Massachusetts we have few restrictions other than that the mother must be fit to bring up her children and that public relief is necessary.

"(b) Home conditions.— In most of the laws the requirement is made that the mother is a fit person, morally and physically, to bring up her children and that it is for the welfare of the child to remain at home. In Idaho, Illinois, Missouri, New Hampshire, Ohio, South Dakota and Utah it is made conditional that the child or children be living with the mother and that the mother shall not work regularly away from home. In South Dakota she may not be absent for work more than one day a week; in Illinois and Ohio the amount of time is left to the discretion of the court, while in Massachusetts the overseers granting the relief determine how much work the mother may perform and give proper care to her family.

"(c) Residence.— In Washington and Minnesota one year's residence in the county is required; in Idaho, Missouri, New Hampshire, Ohio and Utah, two years' residence; in Illinois, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, three years' residence. Some of the States require "legal residence" in the State; Minnesota, two years' residence and California, three years; California and Illinois require, in addition, that the applicant be a citizen of the United States.

"Age of child.— The maximum age of a child on whose account an allowance may be made is 14 years in California, Iowa, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, South Dakota and Wisconsin, also Illinois, although the limit may be extended to 16 years if child is ill or incapacitated for work; 15 years in Idaho, Utah and Washington; 16 in Colorado, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Oklahoma, Oregon and Michigan; 18 in Nebraska and Nevada. The legal working age is the limit in Ohio and Pennsylvania.

"Amount of allowance.— The maximum allowance for one child is \$2 a week in Iowa, \$3 a week in Michigan. It is \$9 a month for one child, \$14 for two children and \$4 for each additional child in New Jersey; \$10 a month for each child in Minnesota and Nebraska; \$10 a month for one child and \$5 for each additional child in Idaho, Missouri (i. e., Jackson county), New Hampshire and Utah; \$10 for one child and \$7.50 for each additional child in Oregon; \$12 for

one child and \$4 for each additional child in Wisconsin (amount may, however, be temporarily increased in cases of sickness or unusual conditions); \$12 for one child, \$20 for two children, \$26 for three children, and \$5 for each additional child in Pennsylvania; \$12.50 for each child in California (\$6.25 a month by the State and a like amount by the city or county); \$15 for one child and \$5 for each additional child in Washington; \$15 for one child and \$7 for each additional child in Ohio and South Dakota; \$15 for one child and \$10 for each additional child in Illinois (not to exceed, however, \$50 for any one family). In Colorado, Nevada and Massachusetts no maximum is set, but the amount must be sufficient to care properly for the children, with the restriction in Nevada that it may not exceed what it would cost to maintain and educate the child in a county or State home. In Oklahoma the "school scholarship" is the equivalent of the wages of the child. In the city of St. Louis the maximum is \$3.50 a week, which may be increased temporarily on account of sickness or other exceptional conditions.

"Administration.—The law is administered by the Juvenile Court or some other county court with similar functions in Colorado, Illinois, Idaho (Probate Court), Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey (Common Pleas), Ohio, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington and Wisconsin; by the county commissioners upon the advice of the school board in New Hampshire; by the city or town overseers of the poor in Massachusetts, and by an unpaid board of five to seven women residents of each county, appointed by the Governor, in Pennsylvania. In Ohio, Nebraska and South Dakota the order granting aid is good only for six months unless renewed. In Idaho, Illinois, Minnesota, Missouri, Nevada, New Hampshire, Ohio, Utah and Washington the court may at any time modify or discontinue the allowance. In California supervisory powers are given to the State Board of Control, which can appoint three State children's agents, with an unpaid advisory committee of three persons in each county; in New Jersey all cases granted aid are under the supervision of the State Board of Children's

Guardians. In Massachusetts certain supervisory powers are given to the State Board of Charity; in Wisconsin to the State Board of Control. In Illinois and Ohio the law requires that visits shall be made to the homes from time to time by the probation officers; in Massachusetts that the overseers of the poor shall visit the families at least once in every three months and reconsider each case at least once a year.

"Source of funds.—In all the States except California, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin the funds for carrying out the provisions of these laws come out of the county treasury. In Illinois they are raised by a special tax of not exceeding three-tenths of a mill on the dollar of a taxable property of the county, and in Ohio by a tax not exceeding one-tenth of a mill.

"Reimbursement to the extent of \$75 a year is made to the local authorities by California and in Massachusetts one-third of the amount in settled cases and the whole amount in unsettled cases. The State bears one-half of the expense, in Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, within the limits of the appropriation, which is apportioned according to the population of the counties.

"Penalty for fraud.—Penalties are provided for procuring or attempting to procure an allowance fraudulently in Idaho, Illinois, Missouri, Nevada, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Utah and Washington."

### The Commission's Bill

Let us here consider the bill that is presented to the Legislature by this Commission in the light of these comparisons.

Persons to whom aid is given.—As has already been explained in this report the Commission feels that public allowances of the adequate nature intended in a "pension" law should be limited to indigent widows with dependent children. That this decision is wise and practical is borne out by the experience of Massachusetts where more than 75 per cent. of the cases to which assistance was rendered in 1914 were families of widowed mothers. By relieving such a large percentage of the dependents in New York State we will be permitting the overseers of the poor and the pri-



vate charities to care properly for the other unfortunate families whose need is more casual or more intricate than that of the widow.

Conditions on which aid is given.—The Commission has left the regulation of such conditions to the local or county Boards of Child Welfare created by the bill. This is wise not only because it adheres most strictly to the principles of home rule, but it also permits these boards to take into consideration the various standards peculiar to the utterly different conditions in the different localities in the State. The general rules set down in the legislation recommended by the Commission are that a widow receiving assistance from the local boards of child welfare shall

First.—“Be of good habits and character.”

Second.—“Have at the time of application one or more children under the age of sixteen living with and dependent upon her.”

Third.—“Have been a resident of the county or the city where the application for an allowance is made for a period of one year immediately preceding such application.”

Fourth.—“Be a suitable person to bring up her own children” and that

Fifth.—“Aid is necessary to enable her to do so.”

These are but the common-sense restrictions that will enforce the distribution of such public assistance to those properly in need of it, and bar out those who may attempt to gain such help without its being essential to the development of home life and child welfare. It also will force the local boards to adopt such general policies of investigation, supervision and administration as will make the distribution of such aid effective, sympathetic and far reaching.

Age of child.—The Commission has fixed the age of the child at which the assistance shall be discontinued at sixteen, thereby following the Compulsory Education Law of the State. As has been pointed out repeatedly in the main body of the report, public assistance in the home is the corollary of public education and must therefore be governed by the same limitations and principles.

It is understood, of course, that where a child has received his working papers at fourteen and is actually at work during his

next two years, the local boards will take his earnings into account in the consideration of the budget of the family. Each case will thus be adjusted by itself and all the circumstances surrounding the family taken into consideration. Thus often where this eldest dependent child is of a bright and ambitious nature, it will be well to continue him or her in school until sixteen and grant the widowed mother sufficient to compensate her for sacrificing the immediate value of his earning capacity. This brings us back to the theory that lies behind the education laws of Oklahoma, Michigan and New Hampshire and has caused various private philanthropies in the country to grant scholarship funds to deserving children who will take advantage of the opportunities of an education beyond that compelled by law. Such scholarships have proved actual investments rather than charity, since the increased earning capacity of those receiving such advantages more than makes up the expense involved.

The State will find this equally true in the families of the widowed mothers to be assisted under this law. Not only should the relief granted be adequate in amount, but it should extend over a sufficient period of each child's life to ensure his complete development prior to his entrance into a wage-earning career.

Amount of allowance.—As is the case universally the Commission lays down no set amount to be given any family other than affixing a maximum per child unit beyond which the local boards cannot go. Thus the Boards of Child Welfare have entire freedom of decision up to this maximum and can decide the amount to be given to each family by the circumstances surrounding it.

This does not mean at all of necessity that families will be subjected to the continual investigation and endless supervision that has oftentimes been carried to an extreme by private philanthropy. But it does guarantee sufficient investigation and supervision to insure the public that their money is being spent to the best advantage and for families who are in real need of the assistance and who will make the most of the help. Thus we shall avoid the evils so inherent in our Federal pension system which so thwart its intention and cast an aspersion upon the recipients of its aid.

Also by reason of the fact that no amount is set other than a maximum, we can prevent the administration of such assistance

from becoming cold, formal, impersonal and unsympathetic. The new spirit of public social service rebels against the performing of any personal public function in an automatic, bureaucratic manner and insists that the State, through these boards, shall become the guardian of its dependent wards in fact as well as in theory, and shall infuse that relationship with all the chivalric ardor and sympathetic understanding that the sacred nature of such guardianship demands.

This spirit can be best assured by leaving the local authorities the widest latitude of discretion and judgment.

The maximum set by the bill is \$20 per month to a mother for one child, \$15 per month additional for the second child and \$10 per month for each other child, the total allowance, however, never exceeding \$60 a month. Such an income as a maximum should be adequate to bring a family of five or six children up in sufficient comfort to produce citizenship. This should be the test put by the local boards in affixing the amount of relief in any given case. The mother may work, the children between fourteen and sixteen may earn, relatives or friends may assist, but the total income must be sufficient to ensure health, growth and home life. The amount to be given should be determined by accepting first a reasonable standard of living and then deducting from that the sum which the family can itself produce without draining the sources of health or home unity. The maximum stated in this bill may be taken as the Commission's approximation of what that normal standard of living is, but even this should be adapted to the local conditions in the local communities.

These amounts per child were chosen as maximums because of the various standards of living estimates made by Chapin, Mrs. More, Mrs. Bruere, Mrs. Simkhovitch and others and also because in Chicago where the total maximum aid given any one family under the Funds to Parents Act is \$50 per month, the opinion of experts was unanimous in declaring that as too low really to sustain a proper home life. If New York is to face the task of conserving home life it must be willing to supply a sufficient sum of money to permit such conservation. We must learn therefore from the experience of those other States which have shown us the way in this all important matter. We must set our standard rea-

sonably high and be willing always to raise it still higher in case it is shown that some families are still suffering from an inadequacy under the operation of this act.

Administration.—As has been stated several times in this report the Commission recommends that public funds for the dependent children of widowed mothers be administered through local Boards of Child Welfare to be appointed by the judge of the County Court, except in New York City where the mayor shall have the appointive power. On this board shall be representatives of the educational, judicial, charitable and health officials of the community—thus bringing to bear upon the problem of child dependency all the agents of those governmental departments that deal with dependent children. Furthermore, the bill provides for the appointment in the counties of three additional members, two at least of whom shall be women. In the city of New York the additional number is raised to five with a minimum of three women.

The county supervisor of the poor and in New York City the Commissioner of Public Charities is a member ex-officio of this board and serves during his entire term in office. The other members serve for six years in the county and for eight years in New York City, and the original board is so appointed that thereafter one new member will be elected annually.

It is expected that this board will represent those who are directly concerned in the child welfare of their community and who have sufficient training and insight to permit them to pass judgment on the relief of families and to become responsible to the public for the proper expenditure of public funds. But it is not supposed that such an unpaid board, comprising members much of whose time is taken up with other, if allied, public work, will be able to give daily and detailed supervision to the work. The bill, therefore, distinctly directs the appointment of a salaried secretary who will in reality control the actual work of relief, though subject at all times to the pleasure of the board.

Furthermore, the board shall, under the law, “establish an office and employ such officers and employees as it may deem advisable and proper.”

“Advisable and proper” might perhaps better be stated as

"necessary and possible." For the number of such officers and employees — elsewhere in the bill enumerated as "visitors, agents or other representatives"—will depend very largely on the number of applicants and entirely on the money appropriated.

The board shall, under the law, establish rules and regulations which shall ensure the careful investigation of all applicants and adequate supervision over all those who have been granted allowance. In order that these rules may be enforced, no decision for assistance can be made for a longer period than six months and quarterly reports shall be filed by the visitors to the board, which shall file its report in turn annually to the county board of supervisors (or in New York City to the Mayor), and also shall annually submit an estimated budget for the next year's expenditures to the fiscal authorities.

In order that this work may be uniform in all localities the local Boards of Child Welfare are subject to the general supervision of the State Board of Charities.

Thus we have in each county an autonomous board with full power to care for the dependent fatherless families in their community and be directly responsible to that community for their care.

Source of funds.— It therefore becomes proper that the financial support for such care should likewise come from the county. Because of the unevenness of the distribution of population in New York State it becomes financially unjust to make such an expense as local relief on State appropriation. The more laws that are based on the principles of home rule and home taxation, the sooner will our counties really become competent units of government.

#### The Expense of This Law

It is impossible to make an estimate of the cost of such legislation — either for the State as a whole or for New York City where the greatest portion of the expense will be incurred.

In the first place it is impossible to determine the number who will properly come under the enactment of this law. This number has been estimated as anywhere from 1,000 to 7,000, but there is no data available on which to base an accurate estimate. Even if it were possible to determine the number of families, it is utterly impossible to derive the number of dependent children

or the degree of dependency existing. Nor can we base any judgment on the basis of the present cost of pensions in our private charities, since the method of accounting, the expense of administration and the overhead charges are entirely different than will be those of the public Boards of Child Welfare.

The cost of such care will doubtless increase with the increasing knowledge of social technique and social conditions. But since the money is to be appropriated by the local fiscal authorities, the cost will be held down to the level of social willingness to meet social obligations. For the present the cost should be not much more than the cost of caring for the dependent children of widowed mothers in our orphan asylums plus the outdoor relief afforded their families. And in the long run it will be a saving to the community to provide for generous and adequate home care for all families that are self-respecting and in need.

### Summary

The lot of the widowed mother with dependent children is peculiarly unfortunate and forms a serious social problem that presses for State-wide solution. Many workingmen are unable

**NOTE.** The relief given the funds to Parents' Act in 1913 in Cooke County, Ill., which includes Chicago, was a trifle more than \$100,000. The average per family per month was \$24.60.

#### FUNDS TO PARENTS DEPARTMENT.

Juvenile Court, Cook County (Chicago, Ill.).

Total payments from July 1, 1911, when law became operative, to Nov. 30, 1913 .....	\$208,719 46
Total payments from Dec. 1, 1913, to Nov. 30, 1914.....	100,253 32
Total payments from Dec. 1, 1914, to Jan. 1, 1915.....	8,599 99
Number of mothers assisted in 1912.....	348
Number of mothers assisted in 1913.....	442
Number of mothers assisted in 1914.....	342
Number of mothers assisted from Dec. 1, 1914, to Jan. 1, 1915.....	1,160
Average number of children assisted per family in 1912 (monthly)....	3.39
Average number of children assisted per family in 1913 (monthly)....	3.30
Average number of children assisted per family in 1914 (monthly)....	3.32
Average number of children assisted per family from Dec. 1, 1914, to Jan. 1, 1915.....	8.37
Average amount paid per month to mother in 1912.....	\$21 97
Average amount paid per month to mother in 1913.....	24 92
Average amount paid per month to mother in 1914.....	24 46
Average amount paid from Dec. 1, 1914, to Jan. 1, 1915.....	24 29
Average amount paid per month per child in 1912.....	6 48
Average amount paid per month per child in 1913.....	7 56
Average amount paid per month per child in 1914.....	7 44
Average amount paid from Dec. 1, 1914, to Jan. 1, 1915.....	7 41

#### Salaries

	Per year.
1 head of Funds to Parents Department, at.....	\$1,800 00
1 stenographer, at .....	1,000 00
1 clerk, at .....	900 00
2 typists, at \$720.....	1,440 00
2 field probation officers, at \$1,320.....	2,640 00
10 field probation officers, at \$1,080.....	10,800 00

to secure life insurance that will more than afford them a decent burial. The widow is then left with the overpowering burden of supporting her family and maintaining her home as well.

The work that is available to such mothers inside and outside her own home does not bring in an income that is sufficient for self-support and ruins her health and the integrity of her family. Disease, delinquency and dependency are all caused by this wasting of the mother's strength in her futile efforts to support her children. Private charity is unable, because of its own financial and social limitations to render her adequate assistance. The public outdoor relief, extant throughout the State except in New York City, is also of very little real help because it is too meagre in amount and too inefficient in administration.

Too often are such families forced apart by the blind cruelty of our present relief system and worthy mothers compelled to commit their children to institutions where they are cared for at public expense greater in amount than that necessary to permit her rearing them at home. Twenty-one States have already established legislation granting home assistance, and in every case it has proven economical financially, as well as beneficial, socially. It is an investment in citizenship and a guarantor of social welfare.

This Commission, after months of investigation into conditions in this State and a thorough study of the laws in these other States as well as in the larger countries of Europe, has recommended a bill, permissive in character, that comprises the best features of all the legislation that is already in existence and that will meet adequately the great need here in New York.

As a forward step in the furtherance of the physical, mental and moral welfare of its minor wards, the State of New York must adopt this new, intelligent, economical and sympathetic method of helping the widowed mother in the maintenance of her home. It is democratic, fundamental, conserving and constructive. Such widows' allowances are a necessary corollary to our Anti-Child Labor and Compulsory Education Laws, and an essential part of the social code necessary to advance the welfare of the citizenry of New York.

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**REPORT OF INVESTIGATIONS IN SIX COUNTRIES  
VISITED — ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, GERMANY, DEN-  
MARK, FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND — BY SOPHIE  
IRENE LOEB**

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## FOREWORD

December, 1914

My investigations in Europe were made about five months before the present war. I have endeavored in this work to present not only the operation and effect of regulations relating to widows and children, but have treated also the general relief systems for children operating in six countries.

I cannot help reflecting that some of the excellent measures and relief systems in Europe, especially relating to widows and children, will certainly stand these warring countries in good stead now.

How many thousands of widows and children will be benefited during and after the war by systems that were established in time of peace, cannot now be estimated.

That the United States, and especially New York State, might well profit from the work done in this direction in these older countries in the care of women and children, is beyond cavil.

The following editorial from the Chicago Tribune, printed last month, well expresses my findings as to the effectiveness of the European laws pertaining to this subject:

### "STILL AN EXAMPLE

"Holding Europe up as an example to America will be less popular in the future than it was in the past. Still there are matters in which the superiority of certain countries in Europe must be recognized. Thus Germany is taking care of its poor and helpless in an exemplary manner. According to despatches from Berlin — despatches that are declared to be reliable, not inspired — there is less suffering from want among the poor there, because of the war, than there is in the United States. The machinery for taking care of poor widows and destitute children, which was built up in times of peace, while it is strained to-day, has not broken down.

The children of the poor are romping about in municipal forests. The institutions taking care of such children are taxed, but they bear up well under the strain.

"Our own problems of unemployment and destitution in a great many homes of the working class seem so much out of place, so uncalled for when one stops to think that we are not at war, that there are oceans between us and the countries in arms."

SOPHIE IRENE LOEB.

### PRELIMINARY REMARKS

**How Should the State Best Conserve the Child, Johnny Doe, that He Become an Asset Rather than a Liability to the Community?**

After visiting England, France, Germany, Denmark, Switzerland and Scotland, the most poignant impression, on the whole, was that all these countries are awakening to the fact that the relation of the dependent child and the state is one of the most important of governmental problems. The economical solution points to the ounce of prevention rather than the pound of cure.

In every country visited, aside from getting statistics, facts and the newest laws put into recent operation, I made it imperative to discuss the poor relief system (especially relating to the dependent children), with governmental heads, administrators of the law, and investigators wherever possible; and selected only those whose experience had been the longest, thus procuring their opinions of their own systems and also the best elements that might be put into prospective, efficient statutes. All of these views will appear under the countries mentioned, each country being treated separately.

I endeavored in all of these countries to ascertain the effect of social insurance, workman's compensation and other methods of relief in the special relation of widowed families with children. I found, on the whole, that the relation of the two forms of relief was so small that it could not now be actually reckoned with and can only be considered in a day remote, when the benefits derived from such social insurance are increased several times what they are at the present time. (Opinions and statistics under separate countries.)

I also made it a point to observe the effect of private charity organizations as to public relief and found that as a general thing, as is the case in our own country, the aid given was more temporary and supplementary than permanent. Also that, without exception, the opinion of charity heads was that adequate aid to widows with dependent children has not, as yet, been possible by private charity organizations.

New York and, in fact, the United States, have more institutions and less family life for children than any other country in the world.

The needs of a common, ordinary, everyday, average poor family are met less adequately by our poor relief system than any other country, with the exception of England.

Governmental aid in America is very irregular and is largely temporary, with little aim toward relief that looks to the future in making citizens.

The relation of the child and the State is closer in any other country than America.

Every nation is awakening to the economic importance of conservation of the child. Formerly there has been more energy directed in conserving the forests and the fish than the child.

France at the same time has just appropriated \$10,000,000 for keeping the family intact and to encourage births.

Switzerland has raised allowance for boarding-out children this year in most of the districts.

Scotland, after forty years perfecting a boarding-out system of children, annually increases the allowances for each child.

Germany increases State aid for children and regards itself as the father of the fatherless child, this relationship becoming more marked annually.

That England now realizes the great need of conserving youth to avoid such enormous expenditures in old age pensions seemed evident when I talked with C. F. Adair Hore, the most noteworthy authority on poor relief in Europe. As a member of the Royal Commission on Poor Laws, he presented an exhaustive work on foreign and colonial systems of poor relief. (It was gratifying to find that Mr. Hore's deductions agreed with my findings after I had covered similar ground.)

Denmark, which has for many years devised various kinds of social insurance as to accident, sickness, unemployment, and has for many years given family relief to the widow and her children, and where the savings bank accounts of the people per capita are higher than any in the world and where the slogan has been "no pauper children"—this country of economists and scientists has

come to the conclusion that the relation of the dependent child and the State is that of a claim by due process of law and not to be otherwise regarded.

#### **Important Factor is to Keep the Family Intact**

The general feeling expressed is against the institution for the child in all these countries. With the exception of England, the institution is only for delinquent, backward or sick children. The normal child is only put into an institution as a temporary place until something better is arranged for him. This is the procedure for children generally. But that these self-same countries are realizing that the widow and her children, aside from general poor relief system, has a claim on the State that differentiates her on behalf of her children from all other kinds of poor relief. To keep her home intact, seems to be the process of the most progressive legislation.

Also, another deduction on the whole is that family life for the child is regarded from past experience and statistics to be the best medium for rearing the future citizen — whether the family life is given in its parental home with relatives or foster guardians. For example, in Scotland, where possibly the best boarding-out system has for many years been developed, less than 3 per cent. of the children thus cared for return for poor relief to the Government. And less than 1 per cent. has been found to become criminal.

In fact, the institution in Europe is regarded as only a temporary abode for the child until some place is provided for it either in the home of relatives or foster guardians. In other words, it is merely a transient place. James R. Motion of Scotland, who has spent forty years in the active work of poor relief and been sixteen years director of Glasgow poor relief, stated: "Let me catch a child in an institution for more than a couple of weeks and the officials of that institution have to answer direct to me."

This is the general feeling against child-caring institutions and so it happens that there are at present in Scotland 36,799 children that are under parents or guardians, the direct wards of the State, and but about 1,823 in institutions; and in Berlin in last Decem-

ber there were 8,763 in private homes, against 288 in institutions. By the Scotch system of poor relief for children, they pay for the care of each child about \$1.50 a week as an average.\*

#### Child Led to Think It is Independent

Besides this, clothing and medical treatment are given, the clothing would do credit to the average self-sustaining family of New York City — no uniforms, but various kinds of colors and clothes for the child to choose from. A close inspection is kept on these children, but in such a way that the child itself does not realize that it is dependent on the State.

It becomes one of the family in which it is placed. And this scheme, after many years' trial, proves that the child becomes absorbed in the population and does not bear the stamp of having been reared in an orphan asylum or any other pauper institution.

This same view of the child is evident in the other countries. The strong feeling everywhere is firmly against institutional care for children except infirm, delinquent or otherwise weak, dependent children.

#### New York Charity Opposition to Prospective Laws

Another very important observation in comparing European countries with our own is that, as a general thing, the private charities of the United States refuse to recognize their limitations. They seem to create the impression that they are able to cope with all forms of relief.

Their position would be tenable if their past record could show that they have adequately met the phases of relief they have attempted or if we had any record or proof that any one form has been met and practically overcome; but such record has not yet been forthcoming.

Further, a notable and most serious condition exists in United States poor relief systems. There is little or no co-ordination between private charities and public charities. It is besides an important feature that, instead of encouraging and promoting the

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\* For facilitating moneys and to avoid immaterial fractions in changing English into American money, I have used the scale of 1 pence (d) equals 2¢, 1 shilling (s) equals 25¢, 1 pound (£) equals \$4.86.

discharge of some of their burdens by the State, private charities have regularly, persistently, and almost systematically not only opposed, but fought such legislation as would relieve them of such burdens.

Such private charities are not compelled to account to any public body for the disposition of moneys that have been solicited by them from the public.

In direct contrast in European countries, while private charities have begun various relief reforms, they have urged the State to take them over, so that their usefulness might go on in various other directions.

This whole matter is very well stated by Doctor Munsterberg, deceased, the famous founder of the Elberfeld system, who has been recognized as one of the greatest authorities on the subject of poor relief in the world.

I spent an evening at the home of his brother, Dr. Oscar Munsterberg, in Berlin, to whom I am indebted for some manuscript written by his illustrious brother after his visit to the United States several years ago.

He seemingly saw then the lack of co-ordination of our private and public charities, and very strongly pointed out what should be the prospective position of each. I must say that to-day the conditions stated by Dr. Munsterberg are practically the same; as to not confining their operations within the limitations of their capabilities — in fact I might say the condition is accentuated.

I am of the opinion that such relief legislation as that of widowed mothers and children by the State should not only be welcomed by private organizations but encouraged as it is in Europe, so that with this lifted from their shoulders their efforts might be used in different directions — toward the creation of better standards of living, specific uplift, and social welfare, rather than providing the most urgent necessities, in such channels where a temporary relief is entirely inadequate — forms of relief that must, by their very nature, be met by such government legislation as workmen's compensation, social insurance, and widow's pensions. Dr. Munsterberg's deductions well express these principles, and are given under Germany.

That Germany at least fully recognized such reasonable distinc-



tion is evidenced under section 51 of the Poor Relief Laws of Germany. It states:

"Allowances from endowed charities and private charity generally are to be taken into account in determining permanent relief; but not in such a manner that private charity is thereby restricted and its charitable object defeated. For worthy persons in need, such as widows with children to whom public relief can only afford what is absolutely necessary, private help is desirable to enable them to bring up their children."

Section 57 prescribes as follows:

"Mothers who are not in a position to support their young children receive foster relief. They are to be regarded within the meaning of the instructions as heads of their families and to be entered in the relief lists as receivers of relief."

Before I went to Europe the Commission held several public hearings, where the heads of charity organizations presented their views as to the prospective laws dealing with dependent children and especially those of widowed mothers, with which this Commission will deal first.

The general contention against the new law was the idea that if the State grants aid to the widowed mother it would "pauperize" her and that it was wrong economics to "subsidize" the children. The great substitute generally advised by these opponents to new legislation was a social insurance act.

Another remedy offered was that if the private charity organizations had more money they could more adequately meet these conditions. There was some suggestion that the State might grant mothers' pensions, but administer this law through the existing private charities. Therefore, I particularly gave attention to these points in the foreign countries.

As to social insurance, the contention that it would alleviate this form of distress (dependent or fatherless children) is almost absurd, and so regarded by the prominent officials abroad who administer the laws. In fact, in Germany, where social insur-

ance is generally credited as being most perfected, since it began in 1883, until the present day, the amount expended by the government for poor relief has increased annually and it is only since 1912 that any social insurance law in Berlin affects, by pension, the widow and her children, and the sum is so inadequate that it is hardly to be reckoned with.

For example, if a man dies who has paid insurance for thirty years, his widow gets a pension of \$2.56 a month and each child gets a little over a dollar a month.

When I talked with Mr. C. F. Adair Hore, who is now a member of the Insurance Act Commission — and no better opinion could hardly be found in the comparison of these two elements — social insurance and poor relief, he said to me:

“I believe it is time that every nation is waking up to the most important problem, that of the child. We have here in England especially that problem before us, and the time is ripe since we have by the Social Insurance act now taken care of every employed adult against sickness and this will also create some benefit for old age.

“But the insurance act does not take care of the members of the family who are not employed and therefore can hardly be said to affect them. Especially is this so with children. For the insurance act provides no more benefits for a father or mother with a number of children than with one.

“The only benefit that directly affects the child as a result of the insurance act is that of the maternity benefit. Therefore, practical legislation for taking care of the child properly, that is, the children that come under the present poor relief system, should be of the utmost importance to every government. For it must be economical to make the dependent child self-sustaining, so that when relief is given to him during his early years a foundation for good citizenship should naturally follow.

“What the general attitude of poor relief practically everywhere has been heretofore is that of dealing almost entirely with destitution and distress. That is to say, we have aimed to give temporary relief during periodical distress or we have cared for the entirely destitute, but with the exception of

old age pensions we have hardly looked to the future in preventing these two elements of poor relief, destitution and distress.

"I am convinced that the first step in this direction of future conditions is to give adequate relief in the home of the dependent child, and perhaps the wisest plan is to begin with the widowed mother as your commission plans to do. Some measure for permanent relief should be given to the worthy mother with several children for their proper upbringing. There can be, in such a case, no question as to the necessity.

"I would also advocate that the home be kept intact as much as possible, but where that is impossible I think our cottage plan of housing children has considerable merit.

"As to private organizations, I think there is great work to be done by them in the direction of better education, vocational training facilities and general uplift, but this problem in its entirety must be one for the State. As to administration of such a relief law, I think it might best be operated through a department of State rather than societies.

"Here in London, when the insurance act went into effect, owing to the demands of friendly societies in which people were already insured, it was necessary to operate through them. Some of these handle the situation with more despatch and surety than others and therein lies much of the work, with its corresponding complications, which no doubt will eventually work out. But where no such conditions exist, it would seem that such a law were best administered in a direct way — by the government itself."

"When England was more agricultural there was less poverty among children, since food stuffs were lower in price and the boarded-out child on farms was able to get enough sustenance. Also, the standard of living was higher; but at present when food stuffs have increased in price there is correspondingly more suffering in the cities and the agricultural tendency to decrease has made it less possible for these children to be so placed, and even when they are so placed the standard of wage-earning in the home is low, naturally the

same benefits as when the country was more agricultural cannot be forthcoming. One of the drawbacks to our system in England is the fact that when we take the child away from the parents into the boarding schools (children's institutions) and try to give proper care and educational foundation we have no laws by which we can hold that child and continue this benefit up to a certain age, since the parent has prior right and can demand him from us at any time. Therefore, I believe that the best results by any system whereby a child is taken care of by the State, that State should have proper supervision of the child for a certain number of years or until the child is on the way to self-reliance.

"Further, as to the Insurance Act in England, it is still largely somewhat of an algebra problem with the ramifications reaching to the  $n$ th power. Lloyd-George is still explaining it, and the authorities generally agree that such a gigantic scheme was too hastily drawn and that in reality the government 'bit off more than it can chew.'"

As in Germany, this Insurance Act has very little effect in alleviating the distress of the poor family, and only in the case of childbirth does it actually affect the children. Unless the widowed mother is a working unit, it cannot affect her and her family at all. In truth, it has perhaps injured her interest to no small degree. Private charities have more difficulty in obtaining money than before the act.

The general opinion is voiced by Mr. J. Sandeman Allen of Liverpool, who is president of several charities, including various child organizations. Mr. Allen stated to me:

"My experience in connection with the above charities has led me to the conviction that the Insurance Act in Great Britain has had a most damaging effect on all charities dealing with women and children. The act is supposed to benefit all workers, and the public do not realize that it leaves untouched the almost more important members of society in the mothers and the children — our citizens.

"I, and many others, have spoken at many public meetings in our districts in the last two years with a view to calling

attention to this, but none the less the subscribers to these voluntary charities are falling off, and the one only reason is that the government has chosen to provide by means of this Insurance Act. Had the government faced the real needs of the country, rather than the political needs of the party (which, unfortunately, is the danger of all party politicians), they would, first of all, have provided for destitute and needy and sick mothers and children, and then for sick and injured workers. As it is, the most crying needs have been ignored, while by the Insurance Act they have practically dried up the stream of voluntary charity even in these directions. I trust your Commission will avoid this grave error.

"Then I may also add that the present Old Age Pension Act and the Insurance Act are both destructive of true thrift by placing the steady, careful worker and the wastrel on equal footing, removing any incentive for thrift and personal provision for a rainy day, so essential for the character building of a nation."

As to private charities administering such a State law, the example set by England in administering the Insurance Act through the Friendly Societies, with all the present complications and dissatisfaction, would point to our profiting by this experience to advocate our measure to be directly operated by the State. That the private charities cannot possibly meet these conditions adequately and that their work must of necessity continue in the direction of temporary relief or in the direction of better standards of life — in fact, co-operating with the State for better conditions generally, is also conceded in these other countries.

Dr. Levy, President of the Central Board of Charities of Berlin, which affiliates with 2,000 organizations, is of the belief that it would be impossible for private organizations to handle the problem of public poor relief. "First of all," said Dr. Levy,

"State aid is the only sure and constant aid, while private charities must of necessity be more temporary, supplementary, and of course less certain.

"As to the relief of children, especially that of widowed mothers, which form of relief is rarely questionable as to its

claim, the Social Insurance act can hardly be said to affect them. I do not think it possible now or at any future time that social insurance could adequately meet these needs. The benefits would have to be so enormous that it is hardly conceivable as to its operation ever being practical. I cannot compare any noteworthy effect of our social insurance with present poor relief. Private organizations ever handling the whole problem of public poor relief is beyond my imagination."

Miss Gertrude Israel, one of the prominent charity workers of Berlin, being at the head of the Merchants' Charity Organization, also voiced the opinions of Dr. Levy and seemed surprised that the question of social insurance, as it is now in operation, could enter into the question of governmental aid for dependent families of the kind which generally seek poor relief.

### DENMARK

Since Denmark has the newest and most complete legislation, especially relating to widows and children, I shall perhaps go into more detail with this country than the others.

General relief.—In Denmark the poor relief authority, according to the poor law of 1891, is vested in the communal council in the country parishes and the municipal council in towns. These councils in turn pass on their work to officers and committees of their own. Copenhagen has a bureaucratic administration. Although the local authorities owe some financial responsibility to the county, they are really independent so far as relief administration is concerned. The communes are aided by the county in grants of aid, in taking a large share of the burden of medical help, and in the care of the insane; also, by the providing of penal workhouses for the able-bodied and vagrants. While the State is not directly concerned with the local relief administration, it provides certain means of public assistance, not poor relief technically speaking, and it contributes liberally. This assistance is three-fold:

First. Old age pensions are granted on a test of merit and are calculated not on a fixed scale but according to needs. Outside of

Copenhagen they are administered by committees of the parish and municipal council. Half the cost of the pensions are borne by the State.

Second. The State largely subsidizes certain parochial funds named relief or assistance funds. These are planned to assist that class of poor which is worthy, so they may be prevented from coming under the poor law.

Third. The State makes grants to assist the cost of local medical relief and has also set up a system of sickness insurance, this work being carried out by means of local "sick clubs."

Members of these clubs (purely voluntary associations) have the right to free medical attention and a money allowance during incapacity for work. The State adds a proportionate amount to the members' contribution, which is placed on a fixed scale, and local authorities also contribute. From opinions of foreign authorities, the system is accorded to be a marked success.

#### **Conservation of Widows' Children**

During the 1911 and 1912 session of the Rigstag, the Danish government submitted a project for an act to provide for the children of widows and widowers. In the course of the discussion in the Rigstag, provisions for the act were changed, so that the widows were left out, and the act became a law on the 29th of April, 1913, under the title "An Act Granting Assistance to the Children of Widows."

I beg to call attention to section 1, according to which the right to claim assistance depends upon the income and the property of the widow in question, being less than a fixed amount. There are also fixed regulations governing the amount to be paid to the widow for the rearing of her children. In accordance with section 14, the act was put into force beginning with January 1, 1914. The following is a literal translation of this new act:

#### **AN ACT Granting Assistance to the Children of Widows**

Section 1. Widows, apparently in need of assistance, if actually in need and entitled to assistance in this country, shall be entitled to pecuniary assistance without its having the effect which the aid to the poor has. The assistance in question shall be paid

them for the purpose of bringing up such children as have been born or adopted during their state of matrimony.

Widows are deemed entitled to assistance if their property does not exceed Kr. 4,000 \* plus an additional Kr. 500 for each child under fourteen years of age, provided their income does not exceed two-thirds of the amount which, according to Act 144 of June 8, 1912, is free from taxation and an additional Kr. 100 for each child under fourteen years of age. In exceptional cases it shall be left to the community to determine whether or not such widows may be deemed entitled to assistance and, if so, whether or not they shall be given the full amount as stated below or only half of the said amount.

The assistance given shall be as follows:

100 Kr. a year, until the child is 2 years old.

80 Kr. a year, until the child is 12 years old.

60 Kr. a year, until the child is 14 years old.

The assistance shall be withdrawn if the widows marry again or if they lead a life that would bring them into bad repute, through drinking, etc., or if they receive aid from the public poor aid or from any other source provided for by the Community Department of the Copenhagen Assistance Bureau. Assistance may also be withheld if their condition is altered through an increase of income or property, not due to their work or to that of their children. An exception is made in the case of assistance being granted in accordance with the Act of Arms, sections 44, 61 and 63, or in the case of assistance granted because of illness of mothers or children.

Section 2. The amount granted is paid every three months, or if need be, every month, the initial payment taking place during the month or quarter following the death of husband and the last during the month or quarter in which the payments cease.

Section 3. A child under the public care is taken cognizance of by the provisions of this act.

Section 4. One half of the amount granted shall be paid by the government and the other half by the community in which the mother lives. Rural districts, having a poor aid department in

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\* 1 crown = \$.268.



connection with cities are considered as part of those cities in this connection.

Section 5. Should the widows in question be entitled to assistance from another community, the community having paid the one half may recover three-fourths of that amount from the other community. If this is not the case, the community may have the outlay refunded from the public funds which, according to the law, are substituted for those of the providing community.

Section 6. A widow is not entitled to assistance from the community in which she lives as long as she is receiving aid in accordance with the law.

Section 7. The municipality must report the expenses to the ministry of the interior and to the county council in accordance with section 32 of act No. 85 of May 15, 1903, and these expenses shall be allowed when the subvention from the government is divided in accordance with the aforesaid law, sections 31, 32 and 33.

Section 8. Cases coming under this act shall be dealt with in the municipality of the community in which the widow lives.

Section 9. When assistance has been requested, the municipality in question must carefully consider the case and ascertain if there really be need for assistance. It must also decide what the assistance shall amount to and how it shall be paid. Further, it must ascertain whether or not the subvention is actually to be used for the benefit of the children, so that it can stipulate whether or not the money shall be used for their food or clothes.

Section 10. The amount shall be advanced by the community in which the widow lives, the amount being refunded to the community as provided for in section 4. The county shall report to the ministry of the interior as soon as possible, stating what amount each community has advanced in accordance with the law.

Section 11. Under the law, a municipal decision shall not be brought before the courts in case of complaint, but it shall be appealed to the county council, whose decision shall be final, if the complaint is not taken further. Otherwise, a case may be brought before the Department of the Interior.

Section 12. If the county council is of the opinion that assistance has been rendered in undeserving cases or that the regula-

tions established by law have been violated, the council, in such an instance, must come to a decision, which decision may be laid before the Department of the Interior.

Section 13. Should there be a difference of opinion as to what portion of the amount the various communities shall contribute, the chairman is empowered to decide the matter. His decision, however, may be brought before the minister of the interior for a final action.

Section 14. This act shall take effect from the first of January, 1914. Such widows as are in need of assistance from other sources herein named, shall not on that account be excluded from the provisions of this act.

Amalienborg, 29 April, 1913.

Appropo of the above law, Mr. N. P. Neilsen, who has direct administration of this law, being secretary to the Director of Public Poor Laws of Copenhagen, has the following statement to make:

"When the treasury for old age pensions in the town hall opened up its doors last January fifth, there was a marked change. Instead of old wrinkled faces there were many young women who looked with expectation around their new environments.

"The knowing ones realized that in accordance with the new law No. 124, there was a marked departure in governmental relief — that of taking the widow and her children out of poor relief support and granting her a pension in the interest of the physical and educational welfare of her children.

"Great preparation and study was necessary for the proper administration of this new law which would mean an expensive new department to the Municipalities.

"According to statistics taken in 1911, there was in Copenhagen (without Frederikberg) 4,358 widows with 5,516 children under 15 years of age and 8,283 children under 18 years of age. It was estimated at least half this number would immediately be eligible for support under the new law.

"The expenses of this support are paid, one half by the State and one half by the Municipality in which the widow lives.

(The length of time she must live here is regulated by the old poor law system which demands that she must either have been born here or lived here 5 years. But if the person relieved has moved to another municipality, this municipality has three-fourths of the support refunded by the municipality in which the person was born or had his abode for 5 years.)"

In September, 1913, the Magistrate of the Third Department, Mr. C. Lehmann, under whose department the old age pensions are operated, suggested that since the old age pension was somewhat of a governmental claim, this similar pension granted to the widow should come under this department, which suggestion was adopted by the City Council of Copenhagen, and at least this arrangement was made temporarily in the districts. Since section 8 of the new law required that all decisions be made by the city council after recommendation from the local board, it was found that since each case would needs come before the magistrate and then the city council, it was evident it would have to be made possible to facilitate matters. Therefore, it was proposed that the magistrate should have power to decide on behalf of the council, and if the council demanded its voice in the treatment of the cases, it was also decided for practicability to have as few members on such a committee as possible.

Since the idea was entirely new, a fixed budget as to expense could not be made. Therefore, the magistrate proposed that 62,500 Krs. should be provided for the first year. (One half of this would be refunded by the State Treasurer, according to section 4 of the law.)

This scheme was agreed upon by all political parties in the council and heartily endorsed by them. They especially welcomed the idea of taking the widowed mother out of the poor relief system. It was agreed that two members to represent the city council should make up the administrative committee. These are Mr. Jesson, attorney-at-law, and Mrs. Welding, wife of the Reverend.

During November, all forms necessary for application were sent out through the third department of the magistrates, through trade unions and also through the students' law department, which

is in the habit of giving advice free of charge to poor people. In this way, this combination of effort made it possible to decide a great number of cases in a short time.

In December, 1913, as many as 1181 widows sent in their forms of application, and in January, 234 were added to this list.

It was expected that a larger number would apply, and several reasons have been advanced for the small number, such as lack of knowledge of the law and its activities. But the most important of these reasons was the possible belief among widows that more adequate relief might be forthcoming through the poor relief system than from this claim. But it is expected that within a few years the percentage of widows supported under this law will certainly increase in number. For the widow will know that as soon as her husband is dead she has this claim for support, and may arrange her other budget of income in conjunction with this quarterly remuneration. Every effort is being made to explain to the widows these rights to which they are entitled, aside from other incomes they may have.

Further, it is the intention of the Committee in Copenhagen to ask for the extension of the support in cases where children are over fourteen years of age, if they would learn a trade.

The forms of application are similar to those of the old age pension, something like check books.

Section 9 of the law places the investigation of widows upon the council. The general investigation is conducted quarterly, as the support is given. But if there is any special reason for municipalities keeping close watch on a questionable case, this allowance is only granted monthly, and thus more frequently investigated.

At the end of January, 1717 cases had been decided, of which 607 were those in Copenhagen. The total number of children is 1,560. Of the aforesaid number of widows, 530 have formerly had parish support. All this support amounts to 24,448 Krs.

In 50 cases, the support was denied, since the income of the property of the widow was over the limit of the law.

On the whole, it may be said that the new law works out, as to important points, just as it was expected it would. Especially is this the case in Copenhagen, where the improvement is most marked. At first it was expected that many difficulties would

arise from this law, but it has certainly proved a real pleasure to all parties, and it has shown the administration that much interest in it is manifested from all quarters.

In this way, the general co-operation of all concerned seemed to be focused in carrying this law through in the best manner — a new law, the principles of which in many respects are different from any previous law and which, by this particular kind of support for widows and children, in reality, seems to fulfill the old claim.

Therefore, the whole scheme was to take the widow out of the poor relief system entirely and establish her relief as a claim on the State until her children are fourteen years of age, and until eighteen in many cases. That is, if a mother apprentices a child to learn a trade after it is fourteen, in the judgment of the authorities, she may have her pension continued. This was very carefully studied and thought to be to the best interest of the community, so that the mother could continue to make money by her own efforts and yet feel assured that the relief granted her by the government was not merely supplementary to her own efforts, but she is certain of a fixed amount to depend upon.

So long as a mother does not earn two-thirds of the lowest amount on which is paid income tax (533 $\frac{1}{3}$  Kr.) or (\$142.93 annually) she may have property or money in the savings bank to the amount of 4,000 Kr., which is \$1,060, and besides which each child under fourteen may have 500 Kr. or \$130, she still gets relief from the State.

The mother makes the following application for her pension or claim, which must be signed by two reputable citizens:

The following form of application is filled out by widows:

**Application for Support of Children of Widows**

After the Law No. 124 of April 29, 1913.

from

the City of Copenhagen

to

Name

Born

Living

Parish

Department

The following questions must be carefully answered and, as far as possible, proved by original documents:

1. Name and position of the husband?
2. When and where was he born?
3. When and where did he die?
4. When and where did the applicant marry him? Name ..... Born..... Date adopted.....
5. All the children of the applicant and her foster children must be given by full name and birthday.
6. Does the applicant herself pay the expenses of the children?
7. Is the applicant entitled to be supported according to the laws concerning natural children and children of deserted women? (If she is, then widows' pension is not coming to her.)
8. Have any of the children been under the Poor Support or the Public Guardian Board?
9. What is the work of the applicant? Her income, approximately? Have you paid income tax the last year, and how much?
10. What property does the applicant possess? (Money in savings-bank, bonds, cash money, houses, all considered in the 4000 crown limit.) (Not furniture.)
- Has the applicant paid tax on this property? (To find out how much she really owns.)
11. (a) Do you receive support from the public or any private society supported by the public?
- (b) In such a case, when did you get it? (If she gets poor relief, she can't get this.)
12. In which district can you claim support (that is, where was your husband born or where did he live for the five years he was living?)
13. Other remarks which the applicant may desire to make:

I declare that all my answers to the questions are true, honest and sincere.

Date . . . . .  
 Name , , , . . . . .  
 Address . . . . .

We, the undersigned, who know the circumstances very well, testify to the beforesaid.

Date . . . . .	Date . . . . .
Name . . . . .	Name . . . . .
Address . . . . .	Address . . . . .

### Applications of Widows

This application must be signed by two reputable citizens. After this application is made, an investigator is sent. As to investigation, the city of Copenhagen is divided into four districts. An officer is at the head of each district and has a number of assistants, several of whom are women. At this writing, the number of assistants necessary has not yet been definitely determined, owing to this law just beginning. The widow's application is sent to the officer and an investigator is sent to ascertain the truth of the information given.

After the investigator's report is in, it is sent to the central department administering this law, which finally decides the granting of the allowance. Similar investigations are made every three months. The widow is given a book in which an account is kept of all the money that is paid her, dates, etc.

The book is numbered and an identification card bearing the number is also given her so that when it is in the office of the magistrate, it may be easily located. In this book is also contained the stated amount of money she is entitled to according to the law. The following are directions for the widow to follow as stated in this book:

1. The identification card must always be brought upon applications in the city hall.
2. Information about moving must be given immediately.
3. Information must be given as soon as the widow gets an inheritance, a legacy, or other incomes outside her own work.
4. In case of death, the identification card and the book is returned to the office of the magistrates as soon as possible.

Information must be given as soon as possible if a child dies or is adopted. Allowances are paid from the fourteenth to the twentieth in the first month of each quarter.

A record is then kept of the case in the office of the district under the following form:

Number of the Office.

SUPPORT TO WIDOWS' CHILDREN ACCORDING TO LAW 124 OF APRIL 29, 1913.

1. Full name..... Address.....
2. Date of birth.....
3. Place of birth.....
4. When married? .....
5. Name, date and place of birth.....  
Trade of the late husband.....
6. When did he die, or when divorced?.....
7. Is she a Dane or is she naturalized?.....
8. How long has she lived in Copenhagen after the death of her husband, or the divorce? .....
9. Has she, her husband, or those dependent on her, received public support; when, where, and how much? .....
10. Where can she claim to be supported?.....
11. Present occupation? .....
12. Weekly income, and how earned?.....
13. Do any of the children earn anything? (Merely for statistics, but has no effect as to pension).....
14. What rent does she pay?.....
15. Has she any private support? (Only for statistics to influence only private, but not public, support) .....
16. If they have been divorced, how much alimony does she receive?.....
17. Has she any fixed income, as pension legacy or the like? (Merely to keep her from and after child is 14) .....
18. From what income and property did she pay tax in the last year?.....
19. Have the children got any property of their own?.....
20. Is the family living alone or with others? Has it got boarders? If so, how many, and what do they pay? (Merely to ascertain whether she cares for the children) .....
21. Do the rooms look clean and orderly?.....
22. Do the children evidence good care and sufficient nourishment?.....
23. What is her general character and her moral standing?.....

CHILDREN UNDER 18 YEARS OF AGE.

(In the order of age, the oldest first.)

	Full name	Born Month Year	In what church christened	Place of birth	Adopted statistics	Remarks
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						
6.						
7.						
8.						

Additional remarks:

That this law was made after much study, as to all its valuable details, is evident. The social laws of Denmark have been



annually improved and perfected for so many years that it would seem this new law created for widows with children was in direct process with their studious economic growth.

#### **Private Organizations in Denmark**

There are thirty-six private charity unions in Copenhagen, but less than ten of these are not under State jurisdiction. When I spoke to Mr. L. C. Brun, who is general director of the State Board of Children Guardianship, and also chairman for all private societies that find homes for children, he stated that at first all relief given was by private societies, but that the work became too large for the societies and the State controls these private institutions by paying toward their maintenance. And when in this country the State contributes it claims the right to control.

Mr. Brun also believes that a private home is the best place for a child and even a delinquent child, so that sixty per cent. of delinquent children are put in families. Private charities help in investigations and finding the proper families, the city being divided into eighteen districts and in each of these districts one or more private charities do the investigating. In this way the private organizations co-operate directly with the government, not only in the case of pauper children, but delinquents as well.

#### **The Savings Banks of Denmark**

Along with these various forms of relief for dependents that have for years been in operation, together with this recent widows' Pension Law, which marks a new departure in relief, it is noteworthy that instead of pauperizing the community by all forms of relief, this country, Denmark, shows the largest amount per capita in the savings banks than any other country in the world.

The statistics are as follows:

In 1911 the number of accounts in Danish savings banks was 1,353,000. That is almost one account for every two persons, yet of course it sometimes happens that the same person has two or more accounts.

Nine hundred and eleven thousand accounts were less than \$55.

Three hundred and forty-two thousand between \$55, and 100,000 accounts were more than \$550. The total amount of the accounts was more than \$250,000,000; so that the average of these accounts exceeds \$150. And that means that if the investments in savings banks were divided among the total population of Denmark there would be more than \$75 for each inhabitant, which is no doubt the largest per capita in savings banks in the world.

It is also interesting to note that last year the number of children supported by the State were 10,597 at a cost of 561,452.89 krs.; also the total amount paid out in all forms of relief, 655,346.35 kr.

The cost of all poor relief for Copenhagen last year, including administrative expenses, was as follows:

	Kr.
Old age pension .....	3,070,584.15
Old age home .....	32,604.59
Poor relief .....	1,623,285.75
Hospital for poor .....	670,070.75
Poorhouse . . . . .	162,862.23
Another poorhouse .....	412,256.73
Administration .....	208,470.38
	<hr/>
	6,180,134.58

### Social Conditions

To give some brief idea of the general condition of social laws, I shall give the following, and am indebted for this material to Mr. Christian Reppien of the American Legation at Copenhagen, who is the author of several economic works relating to Denmark:

In its administration as regards labor and its poor law, the Danish State has, during the past thirty years, advanced by leaps and bounds, and possesses today one of the most complete, practical and humane codes of social law that any nation has derived.

Denmark is in the main a land of farming, shipping and commerce. It is not a manufacturing country. It possesses wealthy

"factory system" and densely populated industrial areas, such as are to be found in England. Hence, it has not to contend with those legislative difficulties met with in countries where there are vast populations of factory workers, miners, etc. Then, further, as the population is largely composed of those who may some day require the assistance of the community, the Dane supports "self-contributory" schemes with a greater readiness than he would if he were quite certain that he himself would never receive any benefit from them. All these factors have, of course, contributed to making the advanced Social Laws in Denmark.

Denmark has, and has had for twenty-five years, laws for which many greater and more powerful countries are still studying—absolute protection of women against long hours or unhealthy or unsuitable conditions to old people, State sick benefits and insurance pensions against accidents and unemployment provision for destitute and natural children, State aid for widows, etc.

The Workman's Protection Act (1913) which is applicable to all trades and to any industrial undertaking which employs other motive power than wind and water, insists upon a certain cubic quantity of air for each indoor worker, a minimum height for each room, proper conditions as to natural and artificial light, the necessary conveniences for eating and washing, the provision of wardrobes, and stringent precautions against fire. The rooms are required to be cleaned daily and the system of ventilation in each building for industrial purposes must be upon an improved plan. The act enforces special restrictions as to the employment of machine-men, life-attendants, and work involving an element of danger, however small. All boilers are annually inspected by the factory supervisor, and it is forbidden to allow any man to attend a large boiler unless he has acquired a certificate from certain specified engineering bodies stating that he possesses the necessary knowledge and is a fit person to perform such a duty.

The number of holidays in the year, including Sundays, is 62½, and upon these days no employer can demand attendance of his workmen, except in certain necessary cases or where special arrangements have been made with the sanction of the Home Secretary. Danish workmen put in on an average 9.8 hours per

day (all trades) as against 11.4 thirty-five years ago. The portion of the shop workers is not so satisfactory, although the movement for shorter hours is now extending as to embrace them also. The act now provides that all shops shall close at 8 o'clock in the evening, and furnishes the municipal and local authorities with power to close them at 7, when and where deemed necessary.

Women are forbidden to work in factories for a period of one month after childbirth without special permission from a doctor. During this period of enforced inaction State aid is given when desired, and is specially regarded as "not of the charities or parish relief."

Children under 14 may not be employed in factories. Young people under 18 cannot be employed for more than 10 hours a day and not in any circumstances before 6 in the morning and after 8 in the evening. Factory workers between these ages must be allowed two definite rest periods during their working day. The Inspector of Factories may, and often does, determine that the work in a certain factory contains such elements of danger to life or health that it is unsuitable for women and young people, and in such a case the latter are prohibited from working in a factory so long as the danger can be shown to exist.

Old age pensions were first introduced in Denmark in the year 1891. The Act provides a pension at the age of sixty to all who are unable to support themselves or those dependent upon them, the conditions being:

- (1) Birth in Denmark or naturalization.
- (2) Continued residence in the country for the preceding ten years.
- (3) Absence of criminal offense.
- (4) Parish relief during the five years immediately preceding the "pension age" is regarded as a disqualification but not such relief as sick or unemployment grants.

The pensions are not fixed, but depend upon the necessities of each individual case. The municipality and the State each contribute one-half. The proportion of the population in Denmark over the age of 60 years who are supported in this manner is 24 per cent, or 37 per cent of the male population over 60, and 21 per cent of the female population. The pension averages £11

per annum. One rather curious feature is to be found in the fact that a pensioner is permitted to live where he desires. It is often the case that persons in receipt of old-age pensions will elect to reside in the towns where the average pensions work out at £5 more per annum than in the country. In such instances the municipality of resource is entitled to claim three-fourths of their half of support from the municipality of birth or settlement.

In certain quarters it is felt that this act is not the best that could be devised, inasmuch as no inducement is given to thrift. There have been many instances of persons accumulating money, and spending it between the ages of fifty and sixty in order to qualify for an old age pension at the latter age. In addition, examples of evasions have been brought to light in which a man has made over his property and investments to his children and then secured for himself the full old-age relief. It is believed that a new act will shortly be devised upon a self-contributory basis, producing a popular insurance against destitution in old age, and making it possible for every Danish subject at a certain age to receive a fixed annual income from the State.

Denmark is the country in Europe where longevity is the most marked. The Danes are a long-living race, although in this respect the two other Scandinavian countries follow close upon the heels of their neighbor. In such circumstances it becomes comparatively easy to frame laws for the provision of help in sickness.

There are, of course, many private nursery institutions and hospitals in Denmark, as well as institutions on the co-operative plan.

The care of sick people in Denmark is largely relegated to the municipalities and counties (Amter), who own and manage most of the great hospitals in the countries. The State, however, has built the magnificent National Hospital in Copenhagen, one of the finest and most modern in its design and methods in Europe. This hospital possesses 1200 beds, and its administration is almost entirely in the hands of the authorities of the Copenhagen University, whose professors form its governing body and provide it with its staff of doctors. The medical students at the university also procure the practical part of their training in this hospital.

In its treatment of epidemic tuberculosis cases, the Danish State is particularly generous and far-seeing.

Tuberculosis is the pest of Denmark. Approximately one-eighth of the people die as a result of its ravages. In 1901 a national crusade against this fatal disease was begun, and a society was provided whose sole object consists in fighting this terrible plague from its first stages to its fatal end, with all the means at their disposal of modern science. The society is supported generously by the State and as may be imagined in the special circumstance, also by the mass of the people. So great has been the loyal and earnest co-operation of the populace with the government that in the short space of ten years so many first class sanatoria have been built and fully equipped that it is now possible for every tubercular sufferer in Denmark to receive the best scientific treatment, either gratuitously or with fees, in accordance with his means. Sick clubs are of a great assistance in this respect, but the State often bears as much as three-quarters of the patient's expenses and in addition supports his family during his isolation in the sanatorium. When new sanatoria are erected the government deposits £90 for each bed.

A. The National Society for the Prevention of Tuberculosis where I visited also assists poor families into better dwellings and surroundings, and often procures for afflicted persons employment of a more suitable character.

Returning to the subject of general hospitals, the number of these is exorbitantly large. There is hospital accommodation for almost one-half of the entire population of the country.

Sick clubs are very popular in Denmark. More than a quarter of the inhabitants belong to these clubs. The membership of each club varies from 100 to 1,000; four of the clubs have more than 10,000 members. The total number of members increases by about 40,000 per annum. To obtain State aid a sick club must have a minimum of fifty members, must restrict its operations to a certain parish or town and must contain only working-class members. The government support to the club amounts to 2s. 3d. a year for each member on the roll and 1s. and 5d. a year towards

the fees of each member. In addition, a sick club member is admitted into the State hospitals at half prices. The support which the club gives its members consists of free doctoring, nursing, and treatment at the hospitals, and a cash support which must not exceed two-thirds of the member's average earnings, with a fixed minimum of 6s. per day. This assistance is usually given during a period of thirteen weeks, but some clubs extend the period to twenty-six weeks. The contributions payable by the members are uniform, and statutorily fixed at 16s. per annum for Copenhagen, 11s. per annum for the smaller towns, and 5s. per annum in the country. A person may not join such a club after the age of forty, but changes from one club to another are sometimes made after that age, provided both the clubs in question are themselves members of the Central Organization, which arranges the reinsurance for the clubs. Pensioners possessing an income of more than £100 per annum are not eligible for membership of a sick club.

Coming now to the question of accident insurance, we discover that Denmark is the safest country in the world in which to live. Only 230 persons per annum out of each million in Denmark are killed in accidents. The proportion in England is more than double this figure. This, of course, may be largely accounted for by the absence of mines, rocks and mountains. Most of the accidental deaths in Denmark arise from drowning.

Insurance against accidents is largely effected through private companies as in England, though the State also provides regulations on this subject. A — In 1898 an act was passed compelling the employer to pay to the workman a sum of three-fifths of his average earnings during the first thirteen weeks of illness following cessation of support from his sick club. B — In case of absolute invalidity, six times one year's income at one time. C — In case of death, to the persons dependent upon the deceased is given a sum equal to four times one year's income. In practice, however, it is found that most employers transfer their liability in these directions to the insurance companies. All disputes on the question of accident insurance are settled by a special court which decides whether the employer's liability shall be paid immediately

in cost, or converted into an annuity during the life of the workman.

Fishermen are subject to a special State Insurance Board, to which they must pay 6s. a year. In sickness they receive 1s. 8d. a day during its period; in invalidity, a sum of £200, in case of death £140 is paid to the relatives. Sailors in the mercantile marine receive similar benefits, but in the case of foreigners who meet with death while serving on a Danish ship, the £140 is only paid to the dependents when the deceased person is a member of a nation which in similar circumstances would treat a Dane as a native.

The latest available figures show that Denmark has a greater percentage of unemployed than in most of the other European countries, but there exists as an offset a much better organization for dealing with unemployment than can be found elsewhere. The average number of unemployed is 10 per cent. of the laboring population. This is partly due to the fact that some workers are dependent for their living upon climatic conditions and therefore cannot, of course, be called unemployed in the English sense of the word. Rather are they periodical workers, who earn much higher figures during their terms of employment than the regular worker.

The Trade-Unions have a rather strong position in Denmark, and to this may be attributed the fact that although there is more periodic unemployment there is infinitely less suffering and destitution than in other countries with apparently lower figures of unemployment.

In 1907 the State took over the control of the Unemployment Clubs, which are institutions for supporting unemployed workmen. It is now compulsory to restrict the operations of these Employment Clubs to one trade, or one town, and they must be open to all comers, whether members of trade-unions or non-unionists. The club now must have no other purpose than that for which it was designed, and it must keep its operations strictly separate from those of any other institution, particularly the trade-unions.



The members of the sick clubs receive during unemployment between 7d. and 2s. 3d. a day, but the support must not exceed two-thirds of the average wage any worker in that trade and locality would receive. No support is given for the first two weeks in unemployment and in no case in which a person has not been a member for a period of one year, neither is relief granted during strikes and lock-outs, or when the unemployment is the fault of the workmen or when a workman declines work offered him by the unemployment clubs. In legitimate cases support is given for ten weeks. The number of members of these novel institutions is considerably exceeding 100,000 and the member's fees are about 14s. per annum.

Labor exchanges have worked successfully in Denmark for ten years. The exchange in Copenhagen finds employment for from thirty to forty thousand work people every year.

The State in its relation to children has always been an important point of Danish politics, and a vast volume of laws and by-laws relating to the child testify to the care and attention which has been bestowed in Denmark upon this vital subject. We cannot do more than summarize the position as it at present stands.

There is a large number of illegitimate children in Denmark. Towards the support of an illegitimate child the father must contribute a monthly amount determined according to the circumstances of the mother, but he has no right of control over the child. If he leaves the mother or fails to make the contribution, he is summoned before the magistrate, as in England, and compelled to pay. If the father dies, or it is quite impossible to obtain the support from him, the mother may receive from the municipality what is called the "normal foster-house-support" income of between £4 and £8 per year, being about three-fourths of the annual cost for a child in a good foster-house. This is regarded as "parish relief" to the father, not the mother.

B. Married parents are compelled to support their offspring until the age of eighteen years.

The support of the children of widows is arranged upon a graduated scale. The conditions are that the widow's fortune is less

than £225, and that her annual income does not exceed two-thirds of the amount which is exempted from income tax (viz., £45, with an allowance of £5 for Denmark for each child under the age of fifteen years). The support consists of an annual grant of £5:10 for each child under two years; £4:8 for each child between two and twelve years and £3:6 for each child between twelve and fourteen years.

Foster-houses are under the supervision of the police. A special State Board has the care of natural children, orphans, and the children of criminal or notoriously bad parents. Children may be separated from parents if continued neglect can be proved against both parents. The expenses of child-maintenance in all the cases we have mentioned are being divided between the treasury and the municipalities.

In concluding this we may state that so complete are the State provisions in all directions, it has been found formidable to reduce the parish relief to a minimum. Such relief in Denmark disfranchises a person, debars him from an old age pension, disqualifies him for admittance to unemployment clubs and institutions of a similar character and, if unmarried, prevents him from marrying for a period of five years after its receipt. About 4 per cent of the population receive occasional relief of this kind. The workhouses in the country are old and bad, with the exception of those in the capital.

To avoid the system of pauperism, there are many Help Societies, which grant aid somewhat similar to that given by the parishes. The income of these societies is maintained partly from the licenses of dogs, and partly from certain funds at the disposal of the municipalities. The help given must not exceed £10 in eighteen months.

## SCOTLAND

Scotland, as I have stated in my preliminary remarks, has the best boarding out system for children in the world, since it has been in the course of development for over three hundred years.

In the past twenty years there has been kept an excellent following-up system of these children. This shows that the children who have been given allowances in the homes of their parents or who

have been otherwise boarded out in private homes have learned trades or were able to earn their own living, and generally became absorbed in the population.

Mr. James R. Motion, who has been at the head of the poor laws of Glasgow for nearly forty years, showed me portraits of men and women with whom he is now in communication and who came under poor relief supervision under the age of fourteen.

Their statistics show that less than one per cent. of the children ever come back for poor relief, and less than three per cent. become criminals. In all of Scotland there are not two hundred children in institutions, and these are there only temporarily, because of illness or otherwise awaiting proper places to be boarded out.

A very comprehensive record is kept of every child and its guardian, the details of which will be given later. Also another noteworthy feature is that every precaution is taken that the child does not feel that it is a poor relief subject.

Clothes as well as medical attention is furnished to the child, besides the money received by the parents or guardian for its maintenance.

As to these clothes, there is no such thing as uniform. The tendency is to select various kinds and colors of clothing. I went over their clothing department and found very few of a kind of any piece of clothing. The child and its mother in the majority of cases select the colors and style, so that a poor relief child can hardly be in any sense recognized from his prosperous neighbor. I brought home some of this clothing, and it compares very favorably with the average well-dressed child of New York city.

It is noteworthy that these people, whose characteristics have always been that of firmness and solidity, have the most flexible laws regarding poor relief, so that each case is met according to its needs.

While in Glasgow, I consulted with several mothers, who seemed satisfied with the relief given them.

It will be noted also in the statistics that the actual cash given weekly (in Glasgow about \$1.43 for each child) may seem small in amount, but when you consider that medical attention, medicine, clothing, and school books are provided, to say nothing of employment found for the child after the age of sixteen, it would seem

that this government very nearly adequately meets the child's requirements of maintenance during its school-going period.

Not only this, but it will be further seen that allowance is given not only to the children but the widow as well. When carefully counted, the total amount in money and kind thus given weekly, including all of the above mentioned items of maintenance, in the United States would generally average for each child at least between \$3.00 and \$4.00 a week.

It is most significant that the number of deaths among children under out-door poor relief in Glasgow for six months preceding November 16, 1913, were only nine.

### **The Widow's Distinct Claim on the State**

Although the widow in Scotland has always been regarded as a dependent and allowances made her as long as all other poor relief was in existence, yet in 1902 it was deemed advisable to treat her case as a distinct class, and the following rules were adopted:

1. "That respectable widows with young children, who being left destitute are without relatives able to assist them, should be given an allowance based upon that allowed to boarded-out children.
2. "That where there are young children, the mother—if she cannot make proper arrangements for the care of her children to the satisfaction of the Daily Relief Committee during her absence at work—be allowed such aliment for herself and children as will enable her to remain at home and attend to the proper upbringing of her children.
3. "That the Daily Relief Committee be enjoined to make enquiry as to the clothing of each child, and if satisfied of the necessity thereof grant such articles as may be required, or the value thereof in cash, to be laid out by the mother.
4. "That the out-door medical staff be enjoined to give special attention to the care of young children who may be weak or ailing, by affording, under existing rules, the necessary and proper nutritious diet and medicine, reporting to the inspector any case of neglect.
5. "That distinct schedules be used as per form annexed, and the assistant inspectors specially instructed to note thereon, after

careful inquiry, the condition of each child as to clothing, standard in education, and any other particulars essential to the proper consideration of every case by the Daily Relief Committee."

### Scotland Today

This was fourteen years ago, and today it is so all-important that mothers take care of their own children that in the term "able-bodied" in respect to earning a livelihood, a mother is regarded as the only one exempt from being considered "able-bodied" and she is encouraged to stay at home and care for the children.

They would rather pay a larger allowance and keep her at home. In fact, they insist on giving her enough to stay at home, no matter how many children.

Mr. John A. Maxwell, a member of the Local Government Board of Edinburgh, told me that every effort is bent in this direction; that it often happens that an ambitious mother insists on earning money when the children need her at home. In such cases they endeavor to make such provision that she will not do so.

This idea is certainly in direct contrast to the methods adopted in the United States. The general plan here is to merely supplement anything the mother can earn toward the maintenance of the family, and particular stress is put on the mother's earning power.

The Scottish System of Poor Relief is distinctly outdoor. The general attitude of the State toward the child in Scotland is decidedly in loco parentis to all dependent children. The idea of institutions is abhorrent to the Scottish mind. All public institutions are regarded as mere temporary housing places for all dependents, including insane, infirm, aged, etc. The general scheme towards all dependents is outdoor relief. Wherever possible, dependents are provided for in homes. Especially is this very remarkably systematized in the case of children. When a dependent child is not cared for by relatives, foster guardians are obtained. Children are thus placed in homes from infancy until the time when they can earn their own livelihoods. Their welfare is constantly looked after until that period and even after that time in many cases work is obtained for them, to the end of making themselves self-supporting.

Guardians of children are chosen with great care, and special laws concerning relationship of guardian and child are strictly adhered to, and as the years go by improved.

The municipal government of the principal cities of Scotland is vested in what is called the Local Government Board. This board gives authority to parish councils located in each district. Thus the parish council directly has to deal with widowed mothers, boarding-out children, and in fact all dependents.

I visited both Glasgow and Edinburgh and consulted with the best known government authorities of these two cities. To set forth the various views of these officials as well as statistics, I shall give them under their respective cities.

### Glasgow

It is generally conceded throughout Scotland that Mr. James R. Motion, Director of Glasgow District, is the most noteworthy authority on the subject of poor relief in Scotland, and as I have stated in my preliminary remarks he has practically given his life to this work as well as his father before him, and has been at the head of poor relief in Scotland for nearly twenty years.

As to Mr. Motion's opinion relative to the Workmen's Insurance Act, in relation to poor relief, I quote from his letter to me dated January 29, 1914 (this is a year and a half after the Compulsory Workmen's Insurance Act of the United Kingdom had been in operation):

"Your various queries relating to the effect of the Insurance Act can be answered generally in respect that the Insurance Act does not affect our boarding-out system or cases chargeable to the parish in any way, nor does it take away but rather adds to the duties of the inspector of the poor."

I am indebted to Mr. Motion and his associates for many of the statistics as to Scotland furnished in this report. I can also give nothing more comprehensive of the Scotch system of poor relief than by stating verbatim the statement of Mr. Motion on the subject as follows, which treats of conditions up to the time of my investigation:

## THE CHILDREN UNDER THE POOR LAWS OF SCOTLAND

"The care of the child has always been a prominent feature of our Scottish Poor Law, and no subject connected with Poor Law administration is so full of practical interest.

"As long ago as the year 1579 the Scottish Parliament enacted:

"'And Gif any beggars bairne being above the age of five years and within fourteen, male or female, sall be liked of be any subjects of the Realme of onest estait, the said person sall have the bairne, be the ordour and direction of the said Provost and Baillies within the Burgh, or be the judge of every Parochin to landwairt, gif he be a male child, to the age of 24 years, and gif she be a female child, to the age of 22 years.'

"And from 1579 to the passing of the Great Act of 1845 various acts were passed with the special object of removing children from the custody of beggars and dissolute persons, and training them as respectable citizens, capable of earning their own livelihood in an honest, upright way, and of living decent, law-abiding lives.

"Children under fourteen represent 40 per cent. of the pauperism of the country. At the present time there are 46,059 children chargeable all over Scotland; 36,799 are under the guardianship of their parents; 1,823 are maintained in institutions, while 7,437 are boarded all over the country with strangers and relatives.

"Of the number chargeable in institutions, 1,012 are orphans, deserted, and separated children, who are detained on account of sickness, and on recovery will be boarded out, while a few are waiting transfer to their own parishes. There is also a considerable number of children boarded in various orphanages and other special children's homes throughout the country. Many of these suffer from some form of mental or physical defect, necessitating the special training which can be obtained only in institutions.

"811 of the children in institutions are chargeable along with their parents who are disabled from sickness. This number fluctuates considerably during the year. For in-

stance, continued bad weather sends the tramp class into the poorhouse and we then have an opportunity of obtaining custody of their children.

"In Scotland the boarding of children in institutions is always merely of a temporary nature, unless in the special circumstance already referred to. Otherwise institutions are always the last resort and their use is discouraged as far as possible.

"With regard to the second class, children who are on the outdoor roll under the guardianship of their parents, become chargeable from a variety of causes, but principally on account of the death, desertion, imprisonment, or permanent disablement of the family breadwinner.

"Of the 36,799 children on the outdoor roll throughout Scotland, 2,263 are chargeable to the Parish of Glasgow. These are under the charge of a staff of twenty specially trained inspectors, whose duty it is at the outset to report as to character, environment, thrift, the religious and moral training, the physical condition of the children, etc., and these reports with the certificates of our medical officers, receive the careful consideration of the relief committees.

"Lengthened experience having shown the evil results attendant on widows working or keeping boarders, in order to supplement their aliment, the Parish Council in 1903 decided to increase the allowance to enable widows to support their families without recourse to outside aid. Under the Scale of aliment now in vogue and which received the approval of the Local Government Board, an aliment of \$1.25 per week is allowed to each widow for herself; \$1.00 for one child; \$1.87 for two children; \$2.62 for three children, and \$.50 per head for each additional child. In addition, clothing, medical attention, education, and exemption from rates is also afforded. Where members of families are working, an allowance of \$1.12 per head per worker is made in calculating the total income, but the workers' wages are deducted, though certain allowances are made of from \$.25 in \$1.25 to \$3.25 in \$7.50 per week, and no account is taken of these sums in calculating the aliment from the Parish Council. How



this works out is shown in the following example, viz.: Widow, with three dependant children, and one son at home earning \$2.50 per week. She would be entitled to \$1.25 for herself, \$2.62 for three dependents, and \$1.12 for the son who is working. The minimum total income should therefore be \$5.00 per week. As however the son earns \$2.50 a deduction of \$2.25 per week is made, and an aliment amounting to \$2.75 per week is allowed by the Parish Council. The total income is therefore \$5.25.

“ The majority of our outdoor roll are respectable, thrifty, and well-doing people. They are good managers, are cleanly, their houses are well kept, and the children well cared for. This type of recipient usually makes the most of her income, and occasionally adds to it by working without neglecting her children in any way. She invariably keeps up a church or mission connection and her children are regular attenders at the Sunday school. Among this better class of recipient of out-door relief are those who are placed on our special roll. These, to the number of 200 widows, with their dependents, are widows with young families who have no relatives who are liable or able to assist them. To them is given the highest allowance possible, their whole attention and time is devoted to the upbringing of their families; they are not allowed to go out working, and they are under the control of a lady inspector whose time is wholly given over to their supervision and guidance. Such cases we endeavor to assist in every way and by seeing that the children are given a good start in life on leaving school, and as soon as possible apprenticed to trades. Children who show special aptitude in study by winning bursaries are given every encouragement and the aliment continued till the child is self-supporting. A return was recently made of children (between 14 and 21 years of age) residing with their parents, and it was found that not more than 11 per cent. of the boys and a little over 3 per cent. of the girls were in unsatisfactory occupations, such as labourers, trace boys, or pithead and waste store workers. It is our constant aim to induce parents to place their children in other than blind alley occupations. With a certain class

of recipient, to which I shall allude later, we find considerable difficulty, as they are apt, with the children, to look to the immediate return rather than to future good. Recently one of our inspectors found two lads, one employed in a picture theatre and another in a billiard saloon. In one case he succeeded in apprenticing the lad as an electrical engineer, and in the other as a machineman.

"There are, however, a considerable number of cases on the outdoor roll who cannot be described as thoroughly satisfactory. A large number, otherwise decent people, have never known the comparative comfort of a regular and living wage. Years of struggle, with recurring sickness and increasing families, under which they are compelled gradually to drift into slum localities, culminating in the death of the breadwinner, have driven from them not only the joy of life but its very spirit. Others have been accustomed during the lifetime of drunken and dissolute husbands, to live a hand to mouth existence in the numerous sub-lets and slums of our great city, under the worst possible conditions as regards sanitation, housing, and morality. It is not to be expected of such, that with the habiliments of widowhood they will at once assume the garments of respectability and sobriety.

"This class is the constant care and responsibility of our inspectors. The first step is to persuade the applicant to remove to a better locality, and where necessary, a donation is granted to assist the family to remove.

"Thereafter the case is taken under the wing of one of our lady visitors, of whom there are four. The special duty of these ladies is to visit and see that the children are properly housed, clothed, and fed, and that they are sent to school regularly. They visit both early in the morning and late at night, seeing the children at meals. In fact these ladies act in a special sense as the guides and friends of the families under their charge, and it is interesting to note that with rare exception, their visits are well received and advice attended to. The ignorance, indifference, and neglect, to be found in this class of recipient is no doubt largely due to the same factors in their early upbringing, and to eradicate these evils is

the special work of all inspectors. The mere granting of a substantial money aliment is insufficient. Frequently it is necessary to teach these women, not only how to lay out the money to the best advantage, but also how to cook and prepare the food when bought.

"The inspector of poor stands in loco parentis to all cases under his supervision, and it is not an uncommon occurrence to find parents whose children are keeping late hours, or otherwise offending, coming and requesting the district inspector to caution and advise them.

"I will now refer to the responsibilities of the Parish Council under the Children Act, 1908, and to the work accomplished thereunder.

"Part I of the Act is an amendment of the Infant Life Protection Act, 1897, and contains wide and for the most part excellent and effective powers for the protection and well-being of children.

"It provides that all persons receiving infants for payment must, within 48 hours from the reception of such child, notify to the inspector of poor, its name, parentage, date and place of birth, and other particulars. Failure to comply with this provision entails a fine of \$121.50 or six months' imprisonment.

"Under this section Parish Councils are bound to cause enquiries to be made with a view to ascertaining whether, in their respective districts, there are infants who come under the Act, and the appointment of Infant Protection Visitors is made compulsory. We have here the suggestion of the 'searching out' process so popular with the advocates of the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission.

"All the outdoor inspectors of the Glasgow Parish Council were formally appointed as visitors under the Act, and in addition a lady inspector was appointed to devote all her time to the visitation and inspection of children. On an average she makes 2,300 visits annually.

"On three occasions since the Act came into force large bills were posted all over the city setting forth the main provisions of the act. Leaflets were also supplied to the City

Registrars, who were requested to hand a copy to all persons registering the birth of an illegitimate child. Similar leaflets were also issued to the numerous midwives in the city; and in addition the Medical Officer of Health supplies us with a list of all children so born.

“ Our most effective method of getting in touch with the guardians of children was inaugurated in 1906, after an interview I had with the manager of the ‘ Glasgow Herald.’ Following thereon an arrangement was made with all the Glasgow newspapers that no advertisement with reference to the adoption of children would be accepted by them unless accompanied by a certificate from the inspector of poor. The results were so satisfactory that on June 14, 1910, the Local Government Board circularized the newspaper proprietors and inspectors of poor throughout Scotland recommending the adoption of this arrangement and, without exception, this has been given effect to. Its value may be gauged by the fact that during the last three years we have prevented 293 undesirable guardians from obtaining custody of children, and the enquiries respecting them have been conducted all over the United Kingdom. In addition, every infant, whether it comes under the provisions of the Act or not, is visited, and where conditions are unsatisfactory the parent is advised to have it removed.

“ Since 1st April, 1909, we have received notification of 2,935 infants and 2,176 guardians, and the number presently under supervision is 602 and 562 guardians respectively.

“ During the past half year only 13 prosecutions have taken place for failure to notify as compared with 50 prosecutions for the half year ended 15 May, 1911. The salutary sentences inflicted during the earlier periods where neglect was proved and where the children were taken charge of merely for gain, and the publicity given by the newspapers of the proceedings, has acted as a wholesome deterrent to potential offenders. We have been adversely criticised for prosecuting several quite decent people under this section, but our aim has been to get in touch with all the children coming

under the provision of the Act and the means taken has been justified by the results.

" The death rate among these children is very high, but it must be remembered that 90 per cent. of them are illegitimate and very often unwanted. In many cases it is to be feared that the mother has been drugging herself or using means to hide her condition, with the result that the child's constitution has been injured before it is born; in many cases also congenital syphilis is the cause of death. When these things are taken into account, it is astonishing that the death rate is not much higher.

" For refusing to allow a visitor to inspect children we have prosecuted only two persons, and in both cases the offenders were the worse for drink when the offence was committed, and the children were at once removed from their custody.

" The powers given for the removal of infants from undesirable guardians are strictly enforced, and, as the guardian from whom such children are removed dare not take charge of another child, this class is being gradually weeded out, and the need for taking proceedings becomes less each half year.

" From the foregoing summary it will be observed that the provisions of Part I of the Children Act are directed mainly against the evil of 'Baby-farming,' which was formerly so prevalent. It is not too much to say that as a result of our work the evil has been completely stamped out in Glasgow.

" Section 12 enacts that any person having custody, charge, or care of a child under 16 years, who wilfully assaults, neglects or abandons or exposes such child in a manner likely to cause unnecessary suffering or injury to its health shall be liable to a fine or imprisonment. 'Neglect' here means failure to provide adequate food, clothing, medical aid, or lodging, and if the parent is unable through poverty to do this he is still liable to the same penalties if he fails to apply to the parish for assistance. As is well known, the Scottish Poor Law does not recognise the right of an able-bodied man to relief, but in all such cases we look first to the interest of the children and afford immediate assistance.

" Under this section, 1,720 visits have been made by the district and lady inspectors to 813 families, involving 2,396 children. These visits generally follow reports by sanitary inspectors, medical officers of health, school boards and the general public, and upon the picking up of neglected-looking children from the streets at late hours by my assistants. The offenders are first warned, and prosecution follows if the caution is unheeded. We have prosecuted persons under this section and in the great majority of the cases the offence was for failure to provide adequate food, clothing, medical aid, and lodging or bedding. Almost without exception the cause of their failure to do their duty has been proved to be drunkenness on the part of one or both parents. Again and again we find children in the lowest slums in hovels destitute of furniture, covered with vermin; their only covering filthy rags, while in the same house the income is proved to be from \$7.50 to \$21.94 per week. It is indeed comparatively rare to find that low wages are the cause of neglect or cruelty to children.

" Formerly it was a common occurrence to find women with young children loafing about the squares and other public places of the city and soliciting alms. Under the Children Act it is an offence to expose children to the inclemency of the weather and parents have been prosecuted for this offence. The result has been a considerable improvement, and it is now comparatively rare to find these wretched creatures exposing their children for the purpose of begging in this way.

" Sections 58 and 59 provide for the removal of children found wandering and under the care of drunken and immoral parents. Under this section 171 children have been committed to the care of the parish till they attain 16 years of age. On two occasions a raid was made on a low class model lodging house when 21 young persons, mostly newsboys, were found to be living there without supervision of any kind. These were committed to various industrial schools, R. C. working boys homes, training ships, etc. In one case where two girls were taken in charge, the father was in desertion and the mother, who had emigrated to Canada, had provided a

home by her own exertions. We applied to the Secretary for Scotland for an order allowing us to emigrate the girls to Canada, and they are now living happily with their mother in their new home.

"The Parish Council, since the inception of the Children Act, has prosecuted various persons and obtained custody of their children. It is not to be supposed that the parents escape liability for maintenance of their offspring. We invariably ask the Sheriff to grant an order on the parents to contribute a certain fixed sum per week towards the children's support, and we see to it that these orders are implemented.

"These children are not separated from their parents forever without hope of recovery. Whenever an order is made removing children from the custody of parents they are told that, if they satisfy the authorities that they are leading a proper life, and that the interests of the children will not be jeopardized, they will be allowed to have them back. Under section 21 of the Act the court has power to revoke orders and return the children to their parents.

"Such, briefly, is an outline of our work under the Children Act. Apart from the fact that we have been able to stamp out the baby-farming evil, to prevent the callous and cruel exposure of children for the purpose of begging, the Act has placed in our hands a tremendous moral force in dealing with careless and drunken parents. Especially valuable is this in connection with the regrettably numerous cases of widows on our outdoor rolls who, despite repeated warning and the influence of inspectors, clergy, and friends, persist in a downward career, and are struck off our rolls. Formerly there was considerable difficulty in obtaining custody of the children, but the very fact that we have power under the Children Act to remove the children under warrant and thereafter punish the parent, is almost invariably sufficient to render such procedure unnecessary, and the children are handed over without trouble.

"This brings me to the third class of children under our care.

"The system existed long before the passing of the Poor Law Act of 1845, and had the authority and blessing of the church, upon which for many years previously the duty of attending to the wants of the poor had devolved.

"In the rules for the management of poorhouses, framed in 1850, we find it was the duty of the House Committee to see that all children under their charge were sent to service or apprenticed and that the chaplain and house governor were to continue to exercise a regular supervision over them thereafter.

"In 1852 the Board of Supervision held an enquiry into the history of the system and reported that:

"It is, however, probable that the results obtained in this country by boarding out are, on the whole, preferable to those which are arrived at, even in well regulated establishments, where the pauper children are collected together. Individual cases of mismanagement and neglect may occur, and may for a time escape detection; but in a vast majority of cases the children appear to be treated with kindness, and often with tenderness. The instincts of domestic attachment are developed on both sides. The children become members of a family, with some feeling of the sacred character of its ties, its duties and responsibilities. They acquire the habits of thought and action of those with whom they associate, and cease to be a separate class. They are not placed in a position superior to that of the children of independent labourers, neither are they placed so much beneath that condition as to make it difficult to be attained; and the practical result appears to be, that they are speedily absorbed and lost sight of in the mass of the labouring population in which they have been brought up, to take their places naturally and as a matter of course side by side with the members of the family in which they have been reared. It may be doubted whether any system that cuts off the young from all domestic intercourse, sympathies and affections; from companionship with the independent, the hopeful, and the free of their own age; from sharing in the cares and anxieties of a household; from seeing by what struggle independence is maintained, and how much



it is prized, can provide an education that will compensate for what it withholds.'

"Sir John M'Neill, Chairman of the Board of Supervision, in giving evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1870, said that the rule of requiring all deserted or orphan children to be boarded out was almost universal. He added:

" 'I must say that we have no positive authority to enforce that. It has been done by the exercise of influence on the parochial boards, by the goodwill of the boards themselves, and by the perception in a series of years of its great advantage to the parish; what happens is this — the children are boarded out in the country, one, perhaps two, rarely more than three in a family; they grow up with the family, they are treated as members of the family, they acquire the habits and feelings of the persons amongst whom they have been brought up; they see the struggles of the family to maintain their own independence, they see the kind feeling that it entertained with reference to paupers, they acquire a sort of domestic attachment to the father and mother, or to the old woman with whom they are boarding, and they are well educated, and ultimately they melt into the population so that you cannot find a trace of them, and they are not distinguishable from the people who have been brought up in independence . . . Anything more satisfactory than the working of that system I have not to boast of in the administration of the Poor Law.'

"In 1870, Mr. Henley, one of the Inspectors of the English Poor Law Board, enquired into and reported very favourably upon the Scottish Boarding out system.

"In 1875, Sir John Skelton, Secretary of the Board of Supervision, obtained returns of all boarded out children, and reported that the system has been attended with most beneficial results.

"The policy of boarding out was now fully recognised and no further reports were requested for seventeen years. In 1892 the Board of Supervision requested their General Superintendent, Mr. Peterkin, on the eve of his retirement

after fifty years' service, to conduct an exhaustive enquiry into the boarding out system. At that time the annual amount spent on boarding out was \$179,820.00. He concluded as follows:

“ ‘In the reports of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children many instances are given of children living with and grossly neglected or ill treated by their parents, all more or less of a painful description. The contrast between the position and condition of such children and those of pauper children is very great. In the one set of cases the most distressing cruelty on the part of parents is with great difficulty discovered. Whereas, in the case of pauper children, no such thing could occur without being known at once, for, should any guardian venture to neglect, far less maltreat, a pauper child, it would be known to the neighbours, and promptly reported. The mere knowledge that an inspector may at any time visit the house and remove the child is besides sufficient to deter guardians from neglecting or acting with cruelty to any child. The Board have every reason to be well satisfied that the boarded out pauper children are well looked after, and that the system has been of great value to the children themselves. How far the reduction of pauperism throughout Scotland is due to the care bestowed on thousands of pauper children during the last fifty years it is impossible to say; but that the care has, as I have said elsewhere, contributed very materially to lessen the number of persons who would otherwise have fallen on the rates cannot for a moment be doubted.’

“ It has always been recognized that it is better to board with strangers than with relatives. Few relatives take the children for aught but the monetary gain to be derived. Moreover, they do not feel or appreciate their responsibilities to the children as strangers do. We are compelled to allow them more latitude than we allow strangers, and they resent supervision and are loth to accept advice from the visiting inspectors.

"The most suitable guardians are farmers, crofters, respectable tradesmen and widows who have grown-up sons residing in family or who have private means. These we obtain in the Highlands and country districts. They are selected with the greatest care; no application from a prospective foster parent is entertained unless accompanied by two references, generally from the minister or parish priest, headmaster of the school, inspector of poor, or local doctor, and all applications must be investigated and reported on by our own inspector before children are placed. No better foster parents can be found than the decent Highland crofting population whose thrift, honest independence, and sterling character has for centuries been the backbone of our Scottish nation.

"As to the boarding out places, we find that the further removed from large towns and populous places the better. In the first place the child is completely removed from its former environment, from what in most cases has been the scene of a neglected and unhappy childhood. Again, there is complete isolation from the possible evil influence of relatives. Moreover, the plain living and clear atmosphere of the country is infinitely preferable to the unwholesome feeding and confinement of the city.

"On November 15, 1913, there were 381 orphan children, 259 deserted children, and 1,623 separated children boarded out by the Parish of Glasgow. 1,459 were Protestants and 804 were Catholics.

"The number of separated children is remarkable and forms a large proportion of the total number boarded out. These children are removed from the custody of dissolute, drunken, and immoral parents, and also under remit from the Sheriff and Justice of Peace Courts under the Children Act. The separation of children from vicious parents has been an established practice in Scotland for many years, and by taking this action the Parish Council are really striking at one of the roots of pauperism.

CLASSIFICATION OF SEPARATED CASES

Both parents drunken, been in prison, etc.....	311
Parents imprisoned under Children Act.....	54
Father dead; mother drunken and immoral.....	378
Father in hospital, seriously ill; mother dead.....	93
Mother in hospital, seriously ill; father dead.....	69
Father in hospital; mother drunken.....	74
Mother dead; father drunken, in prison or in desertion....	176
Illegitimate; mother drunken, immoral, in prison, etc....	271
Father dead, mother unsuitable, unable to control, etc....	149
Various causes — remits from Sheriff Court; one parent dead, other in asylum; illegitimate through bigamy, etc. ....	48
	<hr/>
	1,623
	<hr/>

“ No child is allowed to be sent to the country without the sanction of a special committee of the Parish Council, to whom all the facts relating to each case are submitted; neither are children sent direct to the country. They are first of all admitted to our Children’s Home at Stobhill, where, on November 15, 1913, there were 355 boys and 318 girls, in all 673 children under our care in hospital. There the delicate and sickly child is prepared by careful nursing and training for despatch to the country, and there the poor little arabs and neglected waifs and strays are grounded in the elementary duties of a home before being sent to their guardians in the Highlands.

“ While resident in Stobhill the children are under the observation of a lady medical officer appointed for the purpose, and every child must be certified free from any disease or defect that would make boarding out inadvisable before it can be sent to the country.

“ When the children are fit for boarding out they are brought down to the Council Chambers in small batches of say half a dozen, and fitted with boots and clothing. There-

after they are removed to their new home in charge of a nurse, whose time is entirely devoted to this work.

"Everything is done to eliminate as far as possible the taint of pauperism. There is nothing distinctive about the clothing provided which would mark a child as different from others, and in a large number of cases annual grants of \$12.72 per head are made so that the guardian may dress the children according to their own tastes. Even the aliment is remitted monthly to the guardians direct from the Glasgow office by money order, thus obviating any apparent contact with the Poor Law Department.

"The Parish Council recently revised the scale of aliment allowed to children boarded out. One dollar and twenty-five cents weekly is allowed for infants up to 2 years; \$.87 weekly for children up to 6 years; \$1.00 weekly from 6 to 10 years, and \$1.12 weekly from 10 to 14 years, with all medical attendance and school stationery free.

"As showing the development which has taken place in boarding out, it is interesting to note that while in 1892 a sum of \$179,820.00 was spent by all the parishes in Scotland, during the year 1912, Glasgow Parish alone spent \$159,825.96, which works out at \$1.43½ per head and includes cost of maintenance, medical attention, official visitation, etc.

"Care is taken that children are boarded with guardians of the same religion, and that there is accommodation for them in the public school or local Roman Catholic school for those of that persuasion. In many cases our children are a considerable asset to the districts in which they are boarded, as their numbers enable school boards to claim an increased grant and to provide the services of a certificated teacher, an expense they could not otherwise afford. The half-yearly accounts rendered for school stationery also show the attendances of the children, and we are thus enabled to catch up any unreported cases where a child is not attending school regularly, and to ascertain the cause and prevent its repetition.

"All the children are visited twice yearly during the late autumn winter, and spring months by the assistant inspector or myself and in the summer months by two members of the

Parish Council. Apart from these visits constant but unobtrusive supervision is exercised over guardians and children alike by the local clergy, medical officers, and others, whose interest it is to report at once any breach of the very strict rule laid down as to food, clothing, sleeping accommodation, religious and moral training, etc. And, as our children's nurse and assistant inspectors are always going to and fro in the various districts nothing escapes our observation. The disgrace which the removal of our children brings on an unsatisfactory guardian is in itself sufficient to deter them from neglecting or illtreating our children.

"The after care of children over school age is a subject which has engaged the attention of social reformers for a considerable period. During the year ended November 15, 1913, 551 children were taken off our rolls. Of these 60 were apprenticed to various trades, their wages being supplemented by an allowance from the Parish Council till they became self-supporting. Ten left the training ships for service at sea; 97 girls entered domestic service; 70 boys and girls took to farm service; 38 were adopted by their guardians; 60 were returned to their parents, and 12 went to Canada and Australia. A very small percentage returned to Glasgow, and situations are found for them while, if they have no friends in the city, they are lodged and supervised for a lengthened period by our children's inspectors. Girls who return to the city are first sent to our training school for girls at Dunoon, and after a course of domestic work, they are sent to situations, suitable outfits of clothing being granted in each case. During the three years the training school has been in operation, 96 girls have been sent to service therefrom, and a sum of over \$486.00 has been contributed by them towards repayment of the cost of their outfits. The majority, however, of our children find work in the various districts in farm and domestic service, or at trades. In one district a local doctor recently found employment for 20 of our boys and girls leaving school. Suitable lads who desire to emigrate are also well cared for.

"A census of the occupations and conduct of 2,587 children who were taken off our boarded out roll during the decade

ending May 15, 1912, shows that 1,699 are reported to be doing well; in 276 cases our enquiries were returned 'Not found,' the guardians having removed or died; 91 children had died, and only 104 were reported as unsatisfactory. In other words, only 3 per cent. of those children turned out badly. This is the more remarkable when we consider the class from which the majority of the children are drawn, and compares favourably with the general census taken in 1880 and 1892 by Sir John Skelton and Mr. Peterkin, which show the percentage of unsatisfactory cases at  $2\frac{3}{4}$  per cent.

"Children over 14, who through mental and physical weakness are incapable on leaving school to go to situations, are provided for in a well appointed home opened at Kirn. There, at present, we have 27 boys learning shoemaking, gardening, etc., and 47 girls being taught sewing, dress-making, general housework, etc.

"There is also another class of children who, though in full possession of their mental faculties, suffer from physical weakness and ill health. These are sent to the country, and given a spell as invalid boarders until they are able to resume work and earn their own living.

"It is very gratifying to find guardians showing letters and presents received from boys and girls long since out in the world and scattered all over the globe. And the strong family ties which spring up between the guardians and their charges are shown in the many cases, where the latter spend their annual holidays in the old homes, frequently bringing with them their wives, and husbands, and families.

"That the system should escape without criticism is, of course, not to be expected. In the February 1912 number of the 'Mendel Journal' there appeared a very strongly-worded indictment of the whole system, coupled with various allegations as to the conduct and character of Glasgow boarded-out children in Iona, which on investigation were found to be either fallacious or very much exaggerated. The article was so widely published and discussed that ultimately the Local Government Board requested Dr. MacPherson, Commissioner in Lunacy, together with Mr. Munroe Fraser,

one of H. M. Inspectors of Schools, to investigate the allegations and report. Dr. MacPherson's enquiries embraced the whole of the children attending school on the island, native and Glasgow children alike. He concluded as follows:

“All the houses in the island where Glasgow children are boarded were visited, and the children were seen forming part of the family circle of their guardians. In the great majority of instances it was apparent that the relationship between child and guardian was mutually affectionate; and with one or two exceptions, which have been referred to, the guardians gave favourable accounts of the conduct and docility of their charges. The children, without exception, bore evidence in their persons of being suitably fed, kindly treated, and properly cared for in respect to clothing and ordinary personal cleanliness. Most of the children speak Gaelic fluently, and I believe all of them understand it. In conversation with those guardians who had for successive years the care of such children, it was interesting to learn that many of the children who had long left the island look upon it as their home, and upon the guardians as their parents. Some of them revisit their old homes when they have the opportunity, others write more or less regularly to their former guardians. We saw many of those letters as well as several photographs of the writers. It was gratifying to learn from these accounts that so many of the old boarded-out children appear to be prosperous in life. There have been a few failures it is true, but most of these proved unmanageable or intractable as children, and were removed at the request of the guardians. On the whole, judging from the majority of the children now boarded out in Iona, and from the verbal accounts given by the guardians of their former charges, there is every reason for stating that the results of the system, so far as it concerns this island, have been much more successful than one might have been inclined to predict on a priori grounds. The enterprise of the Glasgow Parish Council in this respect and the wonderful organization of the system by its officials, are, in my opinion, not only vindicated, but amply justified.’”



## HOW THE WIDOW IS REGARDED

In a previous report ending May 15, 1912, Mr. Motion makes the following significant observations. At that time there were under supervision 533 widows with children and 936 without children:

"Destitution may be defined as a condition of poverty or want; and the earlier Poor Law Administrators adhered very consistently to the strict letter of the law. Nowadays, however, a broader view is taken of the meaning of the term destitution, indeed, recently in a dispute between parishes, the court held that a widow who had a sum of \$97.20 on hand when relief was granted was a proper object for relief.

## WIDOWS WITH CHILDREN

"Widows with young families, equally with children boarded-out, form the most important class of recipients of public assistance. At the outset each case must be fully investigated and reported on as to character, environment, thrift; the religious and moral training, physical condition of the children; and the reports of our medical officers, district and lady inspectors receive the careful consideration of the relief committee. Lengthened experience having shown the evil results attendant on the old system of allowing — even insisting on widows working or keeping boarders, in order to supplement their aliment, the Parish Council in 1903 decided to increase the allowances to enable widows to support their families without recourse to outside aid. The scale of aliment already referred to now allows to each widow \$1.25 for herself; \$1.00 for one child; \$1.87 for two children; \$2.62 for three children, and \$.50 per head for each additional child. Clothing, medical attention, and school books are allowed in addition. Where members of families are working an extra allowance of \$1.12 per head worker is made in calculating the total income, but the worker's wages are deducted, though certain allowances are made of from 25 cents in \$1.25 to \$3.25 in \$7.50 per week, and no account is taken of these sums in calculating the aliment from the Parish Council.

"But the responsibility of the Parish Council, and particularly of the Inspector of Poor, does not cease with the granting of aliment. Thereafter for periods of from one to ten years the widow is visited at least once every three months and careful supervision exercised over the education, religious and moral training of the children. Numerous cases occur of widows who get into bad company, begin to drink, and neglect their children. Such cases are at once taken in hand by our lady inspectors who visit early and late, enlist the good offices of the clergy and others, and endeavour to save these poor women from utter ruin. But despite our best efforts, cases occur with regrettable frequency too, where women persist in an evil course, and there is no alternative but to remove the children from their custody and board them in the country.

#### CHILDREN ACT, 1908

"In this connection the provisions of the Children Act, 1908, have proved of great value to us. Before the passing of that Act, when mothers, who had proved to be unsuitable guardians of their children, refused to give their children into the custody of the Parish Council, we were often in a dilemma as to the best manner of treating the case. The Council did not consider it advisable to give money to the mother, while she in turn would not hand over the children, with the result that the children were likely to be the sufferers for their mother's misdeeds. Now, however, when a mother refuses to hand over her children, proceeding can be taken against her, if the children suffer through her refusal to accept the relief offered. Although power is granted to punish the mother, it is seldom that it is necessary to take extreme steps, as the knowledge that the power exists is sufficient to ensure that the children are properly cared for.

#### CHILDREN BOARDED-OUT

"The boarding-out of children in small crofts in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland has been in vogue for over a century and is one of the peculiar and redeeming features of the Scottish Poor Law System.

## DUNCLUTHA

"Children over 14, who through mental and physical weakness are incapable on leaving school to go to situations, are provided for in a well appointed Home recently opened at Kirn. There, at present, we have 25 boys learning shoemaking, gardening, etc., and 51 girls being taught sewing, dressmaking, general housework, etc.

## HOW THE CHILDREN DEVELOP

Mr. J. Patten MacDougall, Advocate (now Vice-President) of the Local Government Board for Scotland, states:

"In the first place, the boarding-out system in Scotland is a spontaneous growth without statutory basis, and is the outcome of the best thought of the administration of our Scottish Poor Law for the last century.

"In the second place, the leading feature of our Scottish Poor Law Relief — indeed its hall-mark — cannot be too often or too widely published. Of course it is well known that it gives no relief to the able-bodied, and in this respect it contrasts with the English and Irish systems. But there is another distinction, perhaps of greater practical import. The two latter are largely in-door systems of relief, the Scottish system is an out-door one. And the boarding-out of the children is an inherent part of the out-door system.

"In the third place, irrespective of whether the boarding-out system is originally an offshoot from the indoor or the outdoor branch of our relief system, its aim is to relieve the children of the stigma of pauperism as it is understood in Scotland, and to bring them up and provide them with surroundings and a home life, so that when they go out into the world they shall in no way be tainted or disabled by the trying experience of a poorhouse existence, which is the only alternative. Let me quote what an inspector says upon this point: 'It has always been the practice of the Parochial Board to board out children, as, when they were put to the poorhouse and became of age to be struck off the roll, there was always great difficulty in getting situations for them.'"

"We are, in Scotland, as thoroughly impressed as our friends in the south can be that the key-note of the system is 'thorough vigilant and constant inspection.' But we do think that this inspection may be overdone. It must not be too inquisitorial, and it may easily be carried to excess. The primary responsibility rests with the parish to which the child is chargeable, and which stands to the child in loco parentis. The care and supervision exercised are, or ought to be, the same as would obtain in the ordinary relationship of parent and child. The parental duty to the boarded-out child is discharged by deputy, and the foster-parent to whom the child is transferred takes upon himself the duties and liabilities of the real parent.

"The boarded-out child deserves and is entitled to have the same treatment as the foster-parent would bestow upon his own child, and if he does not get this, the neighbours will speak out. Any other rule would seem to us in Scotland at variance with the principle which underlies our whole system. We endeavour to achieve a result which separates and divorces the child from his early upbringing and surroundings, and will make him lose the sense of his pauper origin in the new home which is provided for him. He grows up often in ignorance of his past — always with every opportunity of forgetting it, and uncontaminated by it — as an ordinary citizen determined to make his way in the world, and to earn an honourable livelihood in the direction which his own choice may select for him.

"The daily life, therefore, of these children is in no respect dissimilar from that of the ordinary child.

"As regards the kind of parish and the class of foster-parent selected for these boarded-out children, one cannot do better than quote from a paper written by Sir John Skelton in the year 1880. The description, of course, still holds good:

" 'Great care is taken as a rule in selecting a proper home. The class most in favour with the best inspectors is the class of "cottars" and small farmers who are very numerous in the upland districts of Scotland. The men and women who form this class are an active, sober, thrifty, God-fearing peo-

ple — people of uncommon intelligence and untiring industry (it is wonderful what crops of oats and potatoes they contrive to raise on their patches of moorland soil); and their cottages are somewhat better than those of the farm labourers round about them. The child soon becomes used to his new surroundings, the change of air and scene is all in his favour; a few months pass away, and it is difficult to identify the sturdy sunburnt little fellow at play among the stooks with the sickly, stunted, and rickety invalid who had grown prematurely old among the slums of the city. The boy is sent daily to the parish school, where he associates with the other children on equal terms; as he grows bigger he is taught how to handle spade and harrow and plough (if a girl, she is initiated into the mysteries of housekeeping and domestic service); he comes to love the good people with whom he has lived as long as he can remember, and when he leaves them to learn a handicraft, or to try his fortune in the New World, he continues to look back upon the cheerful upland farmhouse as the real home of his childhood, and is always eager to renew his intercourse with its kindly inmates. Such a lad has had a fair start in the world; and it is his own fault and not the fault of the system if he fails to make his way among his fellows.'

"Such, then, are the conditions under which the boarding work is conducted at present in Scotland. We think that there are sufficient safeguards against abuses to justify us in assuming their non-existence. We feel sure that if they did exist it would not be long before we heard of them. Isolated cases, of course, must occur. It is nearly sixty years since Lord Colonsay's great measure, from which dates a new era of Poor Law administration. Our boarding-out system, which was not then new, but only entered upon a fresh lease of life, has since been well tried, and has stood the test of all these years. There have been official reports and papers on the working of the system — very full and very instructive — and the system has always borne the ordeal well."

## HOW STATISTICS ARE KEPT

To give some idea of how this system of following the welfare of the children while at school, during employment, and in many cases until they are married, I herewith give the Glasgow statistics for ten years, up to May 15th, 1912:

Number of schedules sent out to guardians.....	1892-1902			1902-1912		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
	491	378	869	1,427	1,160	2,587
Reported on by guardian as good .....	430	322	*752	883	816	*1699
Returned by guardians who could give no information, but who assumed they are doing well, as nothing has been heard to the contrary	27	19	46	286	131	417
Reported on by guardian as doubtful or unsatisfactory .....	13	7	*20	66	38	*104
Returned through post-office "Not Found," guardians having died or removed..	21	30	51	151	125	276
Returned by guardians as "Dead" .....	....	....	....	41	50	91
Total .....	491	378	869	1,427	1,160	2,587

\* The foregoing 772 and 1,803 children accounted for were located as follows:

	1892-1902			1902-1912		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Located in Glasgow.....	48	42	90	170	244	276
Located elsewhere .....	380	280	660	699	549	1248
Emigrated .....	15	7	22	74	61	135
Total .....	443	329	772	949	854	1803

## OCCUPATIONS

	1892-1902			1902-1912		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Trades .....	95	21	116	177	34	211
Farm servants .....	97	50	147	202	36	238
Domestic servants .....	....	158	158	....	364	364
Miners .....	41	....	41	56	78	134
Millworkers .....	35	27	62	21	41	62
Engine drivers.....	11	....	11	7	....	7
Laborers .....	54	....	54	34	....	34
Tram car drivers .....	4	....	4	7	....	7
Clerks .....	8	....	8	22	8	30
Soldiers .....	19	....	19	58	....	58
Sailors .....	10	....	10	47	....	47
Clothier (in business for himself) .....	....	....	....	1	....	1

OCCUPATIONS — *Continued*

	1892-1902			1902-1912		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Chemist (in business for himself) .....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Message lads and girls....	.....	.....	.....	17	3	20
Carters .....	2	.....	2	13	.....	13
Music teacher.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1
School teachers.....	.....	1	1	.....	2	2
Postmen .....	1	.....	1	4	.....	4
Railway porters.....	1	.....	1	24	.....	24
Dairyman .....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Roadman .....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Warehousemen and ware- housewomen .....	1	.....	1	5	14	19
Page boys.....	.....	.....	.....	9	.....	9
Shopmen .....	5	.....	5	.....	.....	.....
Telephone operators.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	2
Outworkers .....	.....	5	5	.....	.....	.....
Stair gas lighter.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Deaf and dumb institution. ....	.....	3	3	.....	.....	.....
Attendants in asylum.....	.....	.....	.....	2	1	3
Returned to poorhouse and hospitals .....	14	6	20	30	46	76
Transferred to invalid roll. ....	.....	.....	.....	3	4	7
Adopted by guardian.....	18	24	42	30	31	61
To parents or relatives....	11	22	33	72	92	164
Died .....	13	12	25	41	50	91
Emigrated .....	.....	.....	.....	65	48	113
Total .....	443	329	772	949	854	1803
Of this number subsequently married .....	17	26	43	30	78	108

Note, 1892-1902 figures.—Regarding the 20 doubtful cases, only one has been convicted of crime, but he is now doing better, and living with his brother.

The 20 cases readmitted to the poorhouse, returned principally for hospital treatment. There were 11 subsequently boarded out with other guardians, 2 sent to a situation, 4 handed to parents and grandparents, 1 placed on Outdoor Roll, and 2 are still in poorhouse.

Note, 1902-1912 figures.—Regarding the 104 doubtful cases, 9 have been convicted of crime; 1 of these became a prostitute; 45 have had illegitimate children, but a number of them are now doing well.

Referring to those not traced (for the most part children boarded with relatives in the town), from what was known of them while with their guardians, there is little doubt that the proportion of those of them who are well-doing will compare favorably with the above.

October, 1913.





Subsequent Proceedings during Year

Date of  
Committee

DECISION

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

CHILD

County..... Parish of Residence.....  
Name of Child.....  
Date and Place of Birth.....  
Date of Intimation.....  
Parish of Chargeability.....  
Amount of Aliment.....  
Degree of Relationship to Guardian.....  
Name of Guardian.....  
Residence of Guardian.....  
Circumstances in which Child became Chargeable.....  
Health of Child when Boarded-out.....  
Information as to Parents.....  
Information as to Brothers and Sisters and how they have been dealt with...  
.....  
.....

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF CHILD

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

GUARDIAN

County..... Parish.....  
Name of Guardian.....  
Address .....

Occupation .....	
Age in 19 .....	
Number of Apartments in House.....	
Males.....	Females.....
Number of Inmates in House—Adults.....	
Do.	do. do. —Children.....

Situation and Description of Room or Rooms occupied as sleeping accommodation for Children.....  
 Number of Beds in each Room.....  
 Boarded-out Children Resident in House.....  
 Parish of Chargeability.....  
 Date of Removal.....  
 Cause of Removal.....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....

# GLASGOW PARISH COUNCIL

## BOARDED-OUT CHILDREN

### AGREEMENT

I, ....., residing at ....., do hereby enter into an agreement with the Inspector of Poor of the Parish of Glasgow, in consideration of the payment of the sum of ..... monthly, and in advance, to bring up ....., aged ..... years, as if ..... were my own ..... and provide proper food, lodging, and other requirements necessary to.....  
 ..... well-being. I further bind myself to train ..... in habits of truthfulness, obedience, personal cleanliness, and industry; and to take care that ..... shall regularly attend school and church. I also promise to secure a situation for ..... when ..... schooling is finished, and shall try to give such training as will fit ..... for the post; or adopt ..... into my own family. I shall attend to the necessary repairs of clothing, and, in case of sickness, at once communicate with the aforesaid Inspector of Poor, and will, at all times, permit the ..... to be visited, the clothing examined, and my house inspected by the Inspector of Poor, his assistant, or other parties appointed by the members of the Parish Council. I acknowledge to have received from the said Inspector a copy of this agreement, as also a copy of the Instructions to Guardians of Boarded-Out Children by the Parish Council, printed on the back hereof, signed by me, and here held as incorporated for the sake of brevity.

I hereby acknowledge that I have this day received ....., aged ..... years, from the Inspector of Poor of the Parish of Glasgow, on the terms and conditions contained in the above undertaking, and that I have also received, for the use of the said ..... the articles of clothing set out in the list appended hereto.

Dated this ..... day of .....

Signature, .....

....., Witness.

## LIST OF CLOTHING

.....  
 .....  
 .....

## GLASGOW PARISH COUNCIL

## INSTRUCTIONS TO GUARDIANS OF BOARDED-OUT CHILDREN.

1. One of the principal objects the Parish Council have in boarding-out children being to remove them from all pauperizing influences, guardians are specially requested to co-operate with the Council in attaining this desirable end. The children must, therefore, on no account, be made a medium of communication with the Parish Council of the parish in which they are boarded. To render this separation complete, the aliment will be remitted by post every four weeks, and in advance. All correspondence between the children and parents or relatives must be conducted through the Inspector's Department.

2. No child will be boarded-out or allowed to remain with parties who are themselves in receipt of parochial relief, or who have children boarded with them from other parishes.

3. Guardians are earnestly reminded that the children committed to their charge are either orphans, or have been deserted by worthless parents, or separated from the parents because of their inability to provide for them. Their future life, accordingly, depends, in a great measure, on the example shown them, and the treatment they receive at the hands of those under whose influence they may be placed. A kindly feeling should be cultivated between the guardians and the children, who ought to be treated, as far as possible, as members of the family in which they are boarded; and no reference to the "poorhouse," as a means of frightening the child, or otherwise, must be made. Their food must be wholesome, nourishing, and sufficient in quantity; the state of their health carefully attended to; and any serious illness immediately reported to the Inspector. Every guardian should at once obtain the services of a physician to any child who may be ailing, and requires medical attention, either by taking the child to a consultation, or requesting the doctor to visit at the home. Medicines and cordials prescribed by the doctor will be paid for by the Parish Council. Special attention should be given to the teeth, ears, and eyes of all children.

4. Every child, on being boarded-out, will be supplied with two suits of clothing, and one suit annually thereafter; or the guardian can by arrangement, receive the sum of £2 12s. per annum for the clothing to be provided to each child, and for the cost of repairs. The guardian shall give the Inspector information at least four weeks before said annual outfit of clothing is due, at the same time furnishing such measurements as will ensure well-fitting garments, such as, for girls, length of arm, body and skirt, width of neck, breadth across the shoulders, and size of waist; for boys, length of arm and leg, width across the shoulders and body; and, in cases where boots are not made by local shoemaker, send length of foot. The repairing of the clothing is a duty to be particularly attended to by the guardian, who would save herself a great deal of unnecessary trouble by putting in a "stitch in time," or a well-fitted patch. The repairs to the

children's boots ought to be done before they are too much worn. In many cases, good boots are completely ruined by the delay in having them repaired, and, by this being attended to, it would save trouble and annoyance to the guardian and child, and expense to the Council. Good clothes should not be worn before, or after school hours, where the children have an old suit.

5. Every child between the ages of five and fourteen, must be sent to the nearest school under government examination. Guardians are entrusted to see that the children's lessons are prepared at home, and that proper care is taken of their school books, which will be paid by the Council. No child should be taken from school, or removed from one school to another, without the sanction of the Inspector or his assistant.

6. The religious training of the children must be carefully attended to. They must be taken regularly to the church of the religious denomination to which the child belongs, and also to the Sabbath and day schools. In no case will employment at herding, or other labour, be taken for absence, and, if such be persisted in by the guardian, the child will at once be removed. No boarded-out child shall, on any pretence whatever, be allowed to partake of intoxicating drink, unless prescribed by a doctor; nor be sent for drink, under any circumstances, on behalf of others. The Council will view with displeasure all indiscriminate or severe personal chastisement of children without the cognisance of the Inspector, to whom any serious act of misconduct on the part of a child should at once be reported.

7. The children should also be taught to cultivate industrious habits. They must not, however, be taxed with labour, or caused to work during church or school hours; or when lessons should be prepared. Personal cleanliness must be insisted on at all times. Girls should be taught to sew, knit, darn, and do general house-work.

8. The sleeping accommodation, as also the bed clothes, must be sufficient, clean, tidy, and well ventilated; and, in no case, must more than two children sleep together in one bed, without the sanction of the Inspector or his assistant. No child should be allowed to sleep with persons in infirm health.

9. The Council anticipates that, when the children arrive at the age to be put to work, they shall have formed close family ties at the home of their guardians.

10. It is expected that the guardians secure situations for the children when their schooling is finished, and, with a view to this, that any special aptitude in a child be carefully noted. Before sending any child to a situation, the guardians are required to report their intentions to the Inspector.

11. Cases of neglect, cruelty, or misconduct on the part of guardian will be followed by the immediate withdrawal of the children; and if, on inquiry, the Council is satisfied that a child has been subjected to cruel, harsh, or undue treatment, in breach of the trust reposed in the guardian, the child, or children will be at once removed, and the case handed over to the criminal authorities to secure the punishment of the offender.

12. The homes of the children will be visited periodically by members of the Council, and visits of surprise will also be made by the Inspector or his assistant.

By order of the Board,

JAMES R. MOTION,

*Inspector and Clerk.*

GLASGOW, *March*, 1910.

LIST OF CLOTHING OF GLASGOW PARISH COUNCIL, FOR BOARDED-  
OUT CHILDREN

The undernoted Articles of Clothing for.....

boarded with you, are sent in parcel. Please acknowledge receipt.

Glasgow,.....

Number	Description	Articles of clothing
		Chemise Stays Petticoat — Flannel, Drugget Sleeping or Short Gown Frock — Serge, Wincey Pinafore or Apron Ulster Shawl — Large, Small Girls' Neckerchief Girls' Hats Handkerchiefs Stockings Boots Jacket Vest Trousers Shirts Braces Cap (Boy's) Collars Semmet Drawers Cravat Plaiding Jersey Waterproof Sheeting Tweed

P. S.— Should any of the above-named Articles be omitted, please let me know by return of Post.

JAS. R. MOTION,  
266 George Street, Glasgow.

Since 1912 children are being traced to their majority age as follows:  
PARISH OF GLASGOW.

PARISH COUNCIL CHAMBERS,  
266 GEORGE STREET,  
GLASGOW, December, 1912.

THIS FORM TO BE SENT TO THE GUARDIAN BY POST, UPON DESPATCH OF THE PARCEL.

*Boarded-Out Children.*

DEAR SIR OR MADAM,

For the purpose of making up a Return of the Boarded-out Children who have been removed from the Roll of this Parish since 1902, I shall esteem it a favour if you will kindly answer the annexed queries, so far and as full as you possibly can regarding.....  
.....  
who was boarded with you, and return the same to me at your earliest convenience.

The information being required for statistical purposes only, will be held strictly confidential.

Your obedient Servant,  
JAS. R. MOTION,  
*Inspector and Clerk.*

GLASGOW PARISH BOARDED-OUT CHILDREN RETURN.

Name of Child .....  
                  he  
Is ——— still with you? .....  
                  she  
                  his  
If not state ——— present address .....  
                  her  
.....  
                  he  
Does ——— visit or correspond with you?.....  
                  she  
                  he  
What character does ——— bear?  
                  she  
If working, give Name and Address of Employer.....  
Description of Employment.....  
                  he  
Is ——— married?.....  
                  she  
If any family, give number.....  
Put here any further observation you may think fit to give.....  
.....  
Signature of Guardian.....  
Full Address.....  
.....  
Date.....191

## CARDS ARE KEPT OF BOARDED-OUT CHILDREN — PARISH OF GLASGOW

Guardian's Name.....Age.....

Occupation.....

Wife's Name.....Age.....

Residence.....

Parish of.....

Number of rooms in house.....

Number of inmates in house:—	Males	Females
Adults.....		
Children.....		
Boarded-out children.....		

Cards to be presented for weekly allowances.

## PARISH OF GLASGOW

No.....1913-1914

Name.....

Residence.....

Record..... Weekly allowance.....for.....weeks.

MAY, 1913				JUNE				JULY				AUGUST							
16	23	30		6	13	20	27	4	11	08	25	1	8	15	22	29			
SEPTEMBER				OCTOBER				NOVEMBER				DECEMBER							
5	12	19	26	3	10	17	24	31	7	14	21	28	5	12	19	26			
JANUARY, 1914				FEBRUARY				MARCH				APRIL				MAY			
2	9	16	23	30	6	13	20	27	6	13	20	27	3	10	17	24	2	8	15

## INSTRUCTIONS

- 1st.— This Ticket must be presented for payment on the day marked at the Pay Hall, 73 High John Street, City, at 1:30 o'clock, Afternoon prompt, failing which payment may be stopped.
- 2nd.— No one but the person named hereon will receive payment of the allowance, unless a Medical Certificate be produced.
- 3rd.— This Ticket must not be given in security for any debt, otherwise the recipient of Relief will be struck from the Roll.

- 4th.—Any person pawning or misapplying in any way whatever the Clothing, or any part of it, given by the Council, will be prosecuted.
- 5th.—In the event of any party in a state of drink presenting this Card, payment of Aliment will be refused.
- 6th.—In the event of Medical Aid being required, attendance will be procured by presenting this Ticket to the Medical Officer of the District. ....
- 7th.—Where Children are at School, orders for Books and Stationery will be granted on presentation of his Ticket at 73 High John Street, City.
- 8th.—Should it be ascertained that the person in receipt of Relief has willfully given false or misleading information, or withheld any facts or particulars necessary to the proper consideration of the case, he or she will be liable to criminal prosecution, and the Relief granted withdrawn.
- 9th.—The Relief is afforded under the circumstances disclosed in the application, and will be continued till the expiry of the period mentioned herein only. If the person named becomes fit for work; or in the case of a wife, should the husband return; or if there is any material change, the same should at once be notified to the Inspector at 73 High John Street, City.
- 10th.—Any change of address to be reported to Assistant Inspector at once.

CARD FILLED BY INSPECTOR OF BOARDED-OUT CHILDREN

Parish of residence.....Parish of chargeability.....

Name of guardian.....Religion.....

Address.....

Household (excluding boarded-out children).....

Name of child	Age	Aliment	Nutrition	Cleanliness	Abnormal conditions

Clothing.....

Do children attend school regularly?.....

Condition of house.....

Number of apartments.....

Sleeping accommodation for children.....

Bedding.....

Remarks.....

Action taken.....

Date of inspection.....by.....



## EDINBURGH AGAINST INSTITUTIONS FOR CHILDREN.

When I discussed the Poor Relief system for children with Mr. James Kyd, who has been associated with the Poor Laws since 1881, and who for eight years has been head "Inspector" in Edinburgh (inspector in Scotland being the official head of the work), he stated:

"I know of no law that you could enact in the United States that would prove of more benefit to children than to keep them at home with worthy mothers, or otherwise board them out with respectable families in various healthy sections of the country. There are over 2,000 children here thus kept at home with their own mothers and maintained by the government.

"There must be many good families of farmers and factory folk in your country who would be glad to take such children if they were compensated by the government. I do not think an institution is the place for children. They form evil habits and encourage criminality.

"In our section there are less than a hundred children in institutions, all of them being there temporarily on account of illness or otherwise awaiting being placed in proper homes.

"We do not think institutions are the places for grown people either. Even harmless lunatics are boarded out in private families. Thus there are only 1,100 adults in institutions, 500 of whom are in hospitals."

In answer to my query as to what effect the Workmen's Insurance Act has upon the Poor Relief of children, he stated that it can have little or no effect. When the insurance money is used they still have to apply for aid. He also stated that less than 3 per cent. of the children of widows and all other dependent children who are under their care return for poor relief after they have secured employment.

"We are increasing annually the allowances to widows and similar dependents, so that closer attention may be given to the welfare of the children. We rarely allow more than four children to one guardian, and we keep relative children together.

"When guardians have proved satisfactory, we give other children to them as the first leave.

"A very good way we have of knowing how the children have been treated, is when the child returns to help guardians after they have left their charge. In Glasgow they give more actual cash than we give here in Edinburgh.

"But when you consider that we pay for books, clothing and medical attendance besides continuing to pay the supplement earning of a child after it has gone to work, I believe we very nearly adequately meet the needs of that child.

"The money used for Poor Relief is raised by taxes, half of which comes from property owners and half from rent payers. The rent payers pay their taxes to the landlord direct. The city is marked out in districts for this purpose. There are four committees to consider applications, and a special children's committee besides. There is a lady at the head of this committee, and she knows practically every child."

#### THE WIDOWS OF EDINBURGH.

To give some idea as to the individual cases, I herewith give one page from the list of poor of Edinburgh in receipt of out-door relief on May 15th, 1913, as given me by its official head, James Kyd. It will be noted that the majority of the cases are widows with dependent children. The amounts can be readily reduced to American money by using the basis for calculation of a pound sterling at \$4.866, a shilling (s) at approximately 25c, and a pence (d) as equivalent to 2c.

The money here noted is actual cash only and does not include medical attendance, medicine, clothing, milk and school books allowed.

These amounts given together with medical attendance, medicine, clothing and school books would in the United States approximate weekly at from \$3.00 to \$4.00 per child.

## DISTRICT

Mr JAMES M'ELPHINE, *Assistant Inspector.*

Mr G. VICTOR WRIGHT, 18 Cadsow Place, A. F. CADRELL, 162 Easter Road,

<i>Register. No.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Condition.</i>
10378R	Grant, William	17 Abbeyhill	Single
12774R	M'Ardle, James	17 "	Married
30630HR	Turpie, Jane Dodds	23 "	"
23639HR	Hunter, David W	70 "	"
25332HR	M'Calman, Helen R.	97 "	Widow
10995R	White, Ann W.	97 "	"
11021R	Young, Jessie	97 "	Single
8/1787CR	Turnbull, Mary Ann C.	98 "	Widow
13213HR	Gibb, Agnes	2 Gardner Street, Abbeyhill	"
19546HR	Sives, Mary Campbell	4 Abbey Street	"
9309R	Syme, Mary G.	5 "	"
14456HR	Henderson, Alberta R. C.	5 "	"
16728HR	Stewart, John	5 Abbey Strand	Married
26313HR	M'Kensie, Elisabeth Thomson	9 "	"
14526HR	Paul, Robert	9 Thomson's Court, Abbey Strand	Widower
11363HR	Gordon, Elisabeth R. M.	1 Abbey Mount	Widow
5650HR	Wilson, Margaret R.	9 Arthur Street	"
4959R	Leslie, James	4 "	Single
5535R	Carlyle, Ann M.	24 "	Widow
14669HR	Butchard, Jessie	24 "	Single
5816R	Regan, Jane B.	25 "	Widow
20408HR	Allan, Mary H.	25 "	"
8722R	Adams, Margaret P.	32 "	"
13133HR	Ferguson, Mary C. C.	32 "	"
33796HR	Clark, Susan	33 "	Single
13222HR	Robb, Ann L.	47 Arthur Street	Widow
13022HR	Jack, Margaret B.	51 "	"
10575R	Ellison, Louisa G.	3 East Arthur Place	"
28328HR	Bellinger, Ann Elis. A.	9 "	"
33893HR	Miller, Lilly Fordyce	12 " Married.	Husband in America
14901HR	Panton, Euphemia W.	12 "	Widow
39433HR	Duncan, Elisabeth D.	14 "	"
32808HR	Reid, John	14 "	Married
33850	Powell, Mary Ann F.	15 "	Widow
2864R	Ross, Helen	9 Mid. Arthur Place	Single
8765HR	Robb, Jane Ann I.	18 "	Widow
11284R	Cowan, Charlotte M'D.	3 West Arthur Place	"
27906HR	Martin, Catherine D. B.	19 Albion Place	"
11203HR	Milne, Margaret	6 Burns Street, Leith	Single
6/1332CR	Craik, Jane G.	22 "	Widow
14537HR	Hepburn, Andrew	16 Bothwell Street	Married
5849R	Young, Isabella Jack	20 "	Widow
10582HR	M'Kensie, Margaret R.	20 "	"
30217HR	Duff, Frances Jack	28 "	"
34606HR	Cunningham, Agnes H. B.	28 "	"
11490R	King, Mary M'Kinnon	41 Calton Road	Widow

## No. 2

Dr ALEXANDER, 8 Blenheim Place, *Medical Officer*.Mr J. M. LAWREN, 255 Canongate, and Mr JAS. DICK, 16 Parson's Green Ter., *Druggists*.

<i>Cause of Chargeability</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Ages of Dependants</i>	<i>Rent</i>	<i>Aliment s d</i>	<i>Other sources of Income</i>
Debty. & Deafness	65	....	£4, 19/	3 0	Selling papers, trifling
Cardiac disease	56	56, 13	£6	4 6	Wife and family about 17/
H. in Col'n't'n Hosp.	30	6, 3, 1	£6	8 0	Assisted by friends
Defective sight	54	54, 14, 12, 10, 6	£14	Prov. 7 6	Family earnings
Dependants	32	10, 8, 5, 3, 2, 1½	£12	15 0	Lodger 3/
Dependants	41	12, 9	£8	4 0	Self and daughter 10/
Dwarf	47	....	£4	2 6	£8 from Incurable
Dependants	36	13, 11, 10, 7, 1	£6, 10/	12 0	Son earns 10/ weekly
Dependants	42	14, 11	£6, 10/	4 0	Factory work 10/ to 14/
Debility	68	....	£7, 9/	3 0	2 daughters assist
Dependants	52	13, 11	£11	3 0	Family earn 27/
Dependants	30	9, 7, 4	£6	8 6	Her mother assists
Cataract	60	57, 11	£8, 10/	6 6	Family earnings 16/
H. in po'ho., debty.	65	....	£6, 10/	3 0	Daughter earns 12/
Locomotor ataxia	53	14	£6	5 0	Son and daughter earn 13/6
Debility	59	....	Nil	3 0	c/o daughter
Dependants	35	8, 5	£6, 18/	3 0	Earnings and a lodger about 13/
Blindness	62	....	£6	3 0	Paranour earns 10/, friends assist
Debility	66	....	£5	3 0	Daughter earns 10/
Spine disease	53	....	£6, 5/	4 0	Sewing trifling
Dependant	55	13	£7	4 0	Trifling, family assist
Debility	50	....	£5	3 0	Trifling from sewing
Dependants	54	12, 10	£7, 10/	4 0	Cleaner 5/, daughter 10/
Dependants	47	14, 12, 11, 10, 8, 5	£9, 9/	12 0	Charing 5/, family assist
Debility	60	....	£8, 9/	3 0	Niece assists
Loss of foot	52	....	£6	3 0	Trifling from mangling
Dependants	28	8, 6	£5	4 0	Trifling from charing
Depe. & debility	45	13, 10	£8	6 0	Self and family 15/
Debility & dep.	42	5	£8, 9/	6 0	Self and James about 10/
Dependants	32	10, 7, 6, 3	£6	8 0	Assisted by 2 brothers
Dependants	47	13, 12, 9	£8	6 0	Self and family earn 26/
Dependants	41	13, 11, 7, 5	£6, 10/	8 0	Self 6/ to 8/ charing
Dependants	32	27, 9, 6, 5, 3, 1½	£8, 1/	5 0	Prud. Insurance 10/
Debility	65	....	£7	2 6	Trifling, Print. tr., £6 an. A. C. A.
Loss of leg & debty.	65	....	£6	3 6	Trifling, £6 Murray Keith Fund
Dependants	40	13, 11	£7, 9/	5 0	8/ to 9/ from charing
Dependants	43	13, 11, 9	£8	6 0	Self and family earn 23/
Dependants	51	12, 10	£10, 9/	4 0	Self and son 12/, lodger 3/
Heart disease	26	....	c/o moth.	3 0	Nil, mothers chare
Debility	68	....	£6, 10/	3 0	Trifling from nursing
Blind & depe.	47	49, 14, 8	£11	5 0	In. £8, Eng. Soc. 5/ wife & son 15/
Debility	58	....	Nil	4 0	Resides with son-in-law
Depe. & debility	38	8, 5	£8	9 0	Lodger 3/, daughter 5/
Dependants	35	5, 2	£10, 4/	7 0	Trifling from lodgers
Dependants	28	6, 3	£10	5 0	Charing 10/
Dependants	41	10, 8, 2	£6, 10/	7 0	Trifling from charing

## HOW INSPECTORS REPORT

I quote from the report of three of the inspectors, showing how carefully the children's homes are inspected, and the resulting observations made:

"Nos. 300 and 301 are discontented and went away. They say their guardian is not kind to them and that they don't get sufficient food; and their sleeping accommodation is not worth much. The girls in the same house, however, are quite contented. I think this home should be carefully watched.

"No. 322. This girl's clothing is supplied by the guardian, and is not nearly so good or so plentiful as in the cases where clothing is supplied by the Council; and the house is not very tidy. I recommend that in future the Council supply the clothing to this girl themselves.

"No. 323. This is not a desirable home. The house has little or no furniture in it. The girl has no clothing but what she is wearing, and her box was filled with rubbish, none of which belonged to her. The dinner on the day I visited was biscuits and bread, but no cooked meat. This girl should be removed at once.

"No. 327. This boy has a record of four years' perfect attendance at school, and has got a great many prizes. This is a specially good home.

"In several of the houses the sleeping rooms have no opening parts in the windows, the only ventilation being by the door. Thorough ventilation between window and door should in all cases be insisted on.

ALEXANDER KNOX.

"Beaulieu, Inverness, Etc. Visitation Report (No. S-2607) by Messrs. Quigley and Smith, submitted.

"We visited the above district. All the children were seen, except two boys in Inverness, who were not at home, on account of its being a holiday, and the Highland Show being held in the town. We were thoroughly satisfied with the homes, and in a few instances were witnesses of the close attachment of the children to their guardians.

"In nearly all cases we can unhesitatingly affirm that our children enjoy the ideal home life, receiving the same care and attention as the people gave to their own family.

"We came across a few of our boys and girls who are now in situations — some of them self-supporting — and certainly they reflect credit on the guardians who reared them and the system which afforded them such excellent training.

"We were pleased to receive such good reports from two schoolmasters and from Canon Cameron and Dr. Leach. We did not receive a single complaint.

"There are a number of vacancies, and in our opinion a more excellent locality to board our children would be hard to find.

"JOHN QUIGLEY, HUGH SMITH."

#### EXCELLENT METHODS FOR FOLLOWING CHILDREN'S PROGRESS

When I spoke to Mr. John Maxwell, Secretary of the local government board of Edinburgh he stated that, in his many years' experience, he was of the firm opinion that the only way to eliminate crime among children and to develop individuality was by a system of having children either remain with their own mothers or with proper guardians.

Their statistics bear this out, and they are now following this further by the establishment last year of a Central Register of Boarding-out-Children, which will chronicle the progress and every change that the child makes in life until after it has been employed in earning a livelihood.

Mr. Maxwell also stated that no compensation act or insurance law could possibly affect, in any appreciable degree, relief to these thousands of children under their charge.

Following are the reasons for founding the Central Register, and the forms in use for following the child from the time it comes under their control until the second year it is employed:

## " POOR LAW

" CIRCULAR NO. 11. 1913.

" Local Government Board.

" Edinburgh, 31st October 1913,

" BOARDED-OUT CHILDREN.

" Sir,

" As you are aware, the Local Government Board have now for several years maintained a close supervision of the boarding-out of pauper children by Parish Councils. For this purpose they appointed a lady Medical Inspector in 1910, and they have carefully considered the systematic Reports which she has submitted to them.

" The Board are impressed with the high character of the work performed by Parish Councils on behalf of children. They note specially the care which is taken to select suitable guardians and the vigilant personal supervision maintained by Parish Councils and by Inspectors of Poor.

" The Board have been advised that the time has now arrived when they should establish a Central Register of Boarded-out Children. There are several reasons why such a register should exist. First, the Board frequently receive from Inspectors of Poor inquiries as to the character of guardians; this information they are at present unable to give. Second, the Scottish Boarding-out System has gained general recognition, and it is necessary that the Central Poor Law Authority should be able not only to supply accurate information to enquirers from other countries but to deal with criticism or complaints. Third, a Central Register would enable Parish Councils to discriminate in selecting districts for children and thus avoid the congestion of particular areas.

" Accordingly, the Board have decided to form a Case Register comprising Boarded-out Children and their guardians. As the preparation of such a register on the existing basis would be a very arduous undertaking the Board propose to begin with the Registration of children coming on to the Roll from the date of this Circular. That is to say, after this date they require Inspectors of Poor to intimate to them on the appropriate form every child placed with a guardian. Sub-

sequent changes affecting such child will also be intimated to the Board on a prescribed form. The method adopted by the Board will obviously result in their Register being incomplete for a number of years; but the Board think it better that their Register should be thus temporarily imperfect than that Inspectors of Poor, especially in large parishes, should be required to undertake the very heavy duty of recording all existing cases.

"The particulars supplied for the Board's Register will be checked by periodical visitations of the Board's Lady Medical Inspector.

"I am directed to enclose a supply of the following Forms:—

"LIST OF FORMS.

"Form No. 77.—Intimation when a child is boarded-out.

"78.—Notice of removal of child.

"79.—Notice of death, transference of liability, or removal from Poor Roll.

"80.—Notice when child is apprenticed to trade or obtains regular employment.

"81.—Report at end of 1st year's employment.

"82.—do. 2nd do.

"When these forms are exhausted, application should be made to the Board for a fresh supply.

"It will be observed that the first of these forms (No. 77) is an intimation of any child boarded-out after this date. The subsequent forms will, of course, relate only to cases which have been reported to the Board on Form 77. Changes occurring in regard to children not on the Board's Register should not be intimated.

"I am to request that you will submit this Circular to the Parish Council for their information.

I am,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) JOHN T. MAXWELL,

Secretary."

"The Inspector of Poor."

PARISH OF CHARGEABILITY.....



**Intimation to be sent to Local Government Board when a Child is boarded-out by Parish Council**

*The Secretary,  
Local Government Board,  
Edinburgh.*

SIR,

I hereby inform you that.....  
a child chargeable to this parish, was boarded out on the.....  
day of..... I have entered the requisite particulars in  
the annexed Statement.

I am,

SIR,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signature) .....

*Inspector of Poor.*

Date.....

**STATEMENT OF PARTICULARS REGARDING BOARDED-OUT CHILD.**

1. Full name of child.....
2. Date and place of birth.....
3. Date of becoming chargeable.....
4. Circumstances in which child became chargeable.....
5. Has child been boarded-out before? If so, please give particulars.....
6. Is child suffering from any physical or mental disability? If so, the nature of the same should be specified.....
7. What is known about parents?.....
8. If child has any brothers or sisters, how have they been dealt with?.....
9. Amount of aliment to be paid on behalf of child.....
10. Name and address of Guardian.....
11. Occupation of Guardian.....
12. Age of Guardian.....
13. Is Guardian related to child? If so, please specify the degree of relationship .....
14. Are there any other children boarded-out with Guardian? If so, state how many.....
15. Number of rooms in house.....
16. Number of inmates in house:
 

Adults .....	Males.....	Females.....
Children .....	Males.....	Females.....

(Signature) .....

*Inspector of Poor.*

**PARISH OF CHARGEABILITY.....**

Notice of Removal of a Boarded-out Child to the care of another Guardian,  
or to an Institution

To

The Secretary,  
Local Government Board,  
Edinburgh.

SIR,

I hereby inform you that.....  
a boarded-out child chargeable to this Parish, was on the.....  
day of.....removed from the care of.....  
.....in the Parish of.....  
....., and placed in the care of.....  
.....in the Parish of.....\*

I have entered the requisite particulars in the annexed Statement.

I am,

SIR,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signature).....

Inspector of Poor.

Date.....

STATEMENT REFERRED TO.

1. The circumstances that led to the change of Guardian.....
2. Amount of aliment now paid on behalf of child.....
3. Name and address of new Guardian.....
4. Occupation of Guardian.....
5. Age of Guardian.....
6. Is Guardian related to child? If so, please specify the degree of relation-  
ship .....
7. Are there any other children boarded-out with Guardian? If so, state  
how many.....
8. Number of rooms in house.....
9. Number of inmates in house:

Adults ..... Males..... Females.....

Children ..... Males..... Females.....

(Signature).....

Inspector of Poor.

PARISH OF CHARGEABILITY.....

\* In the case of removal to an Institution, the form should be amended accordingly.

Note.—In the event of child being removed to an Institution, only Question 1 need be answered.

Notice of Death, Transference of Liability, or Removal from Poor Roll, of  
Boarded-out Child

To

*The Secretary,  
Local Government Board,  
Edinburgh.*

SIR,

I hereby inform you that.....  
a boarded-out child, who was chargeable to this parish, and who resided  
with.....in the parish of.....  
ceased to be chargeable to this parish on the.....  
day of.....

I have entered the requisite particulars in the annexed Form.

I am,

SIR,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signature) .....

*Inspector of Poor.*

Date.....

Circumstances under which chargeability ceased.

In the case of a child who has died, a report by the Medical Officer as to  
the cause of death should be forwarded.

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

(Signature) .....

*Inspector of Poor.*

PARISH OF CHARGEABILITY.....

Intimation to be sent to Local Government Board when a Boarded-out Child  
is Apprenticed to a Trade or obtains Regular Employment

To

*The Secretary,  
Local Government Board,  
Edinburgh.*

SIR,

I hereby inform you that.....  
a child boarded-out by this Parish with.....

in the Parish of.....commenced work on the  
.....day of.....

I have entered the requisite particulars in the annexed Statement.

I am,

SIR,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signature).....

Inspector of Poor.

Date.....

STATEMENT REFERRED TO.

1. Nature of work in which child is engaged.....
2. Amount of wages earned.....
3. Does child still live with guardian? If so, do Parish Council contribute any, and if so, what amount towards the support of child?.....
4. Any other circumstances regarding the case which you may think it desirable to communicate to Board.....

(Signature).....

Inspector of Poor.

PARISH OF CHARGEABILITY.....

FIRST YEAR'S REPORT AS TO EMPLOYMENT

Notice to be sent to Local Government Board when a Boarded-out Child has  
been Regularly Employed for One Year.

To

*The Secretary,  
Local Government Board,  
Edinburgh.*

SIR,

I hereby inform you that.....  
a boarded-out child formerly chargeable to this parish, has now been in regular  
employment for the past year.

I have filled in the requisite particulars in the annexed statement.

I am,

SIR,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signature).....

Inspector of Poor.

Date.....

STATEMENT REFERRED TO.

1. Name of Child.....
2. Present Address.....
3. Parish in which formerly boarded-out.....
4. Employment at which engaged.....

5. Weekly wage earned.....  
 6. Report as to conduct and progress of child during the past year.....

(Signature).....

*Inspector of Poor.*

PARISH OF CHARGEABILITY.....

### SECOND YEAR'S REPORT AS TO EMPLOYMENT

Notice to be sent to Local Government Board when a Boarded-out Child has  
 been Regularly Employed for Two Years.

To

*The Secretary,  
 Local Government Board,  
 Edinburgh.*

SIR,

I hereby inform you that.....  
 a boarded-out child formerly chargeable to this parish, has now been in  
 regular employment for the past two years.

I have filled in the requisite particulars in the annexed statement.

I am,

SIR,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signature).....

*Inspector of Poor.*

### STATEMENT REFERRED TO.

1. Name of Child.....  
 2. Present Address.....  
 3. Parish in which formerly boarded-out.....  
 4. Employment at which engaged.....  
 5. Weekly wage earned.....  
 6. Report as to conduct and progress of child during the second year's em-  
 ployment.....

(Signature).....

*Inspector of Poor.*

Date.....

In Edinburgh, though systems of poor relief for children have  
 been in vogue for many years, it became apparent that the widow  
 and her children should be treated apart from the other classes of  
 poor relief, and the following recommendation by the head of the  
 government board, dated June 5, 1902, to the council, was gen-  
 erally adopted by the parishes, as in Glasgow:

## RELIEF OF WIDOWS WITH YOUNG CHILDREN

“ Sir,

“ I am directed by the Board to request the attention of the Parish Council to a class of cases which seems to require very careful administration, namely, that of respectable widows with young children who, being left destitute, are without relatives able to assist them.

“ The treatment accorded to such persons is often in strong contrast to that bestowed on orphan children, who, to the credit of the Scottish administration of the Poor Law, are almost invariably the objects of a wise liberality. Thus \$7.75 a week, with clothing, is a very usual aliment awarded to the boarded-out child, and cases are common in which, where special food is deemed expedient, the allowance is considerably greater.

“ On the other hand, it appears to have escaped the notice of many Parish Councils that the respectable widow with young children has claims not inferior — in some aspects even superior — to those of boarded-out orphans, and, in the opinion of the Board, Parish Councils would be well advised to consider each case of this class most carefully on its merits with a view to giving such aliment as shall at least approximate to the boarding rate.

“ Unless such cases are suitably alimented, it seems to the Board that the mother may have to choose between the sacrifice of her children's welfare on the one hand and starvation on the other. In such circumstances, the mother has probably no alternative but to seek employment away from home — a course which necessitates the children being left, to their great disadvantage, under the chance care of neighbours. This would, however, in many cases be avoided if the rate of aliment enabled the widow to remain at home engaged in such work as could be done there, and the Board cannot but think that the best security which the Parish Council have against the future pauperism of the children, would be an aliment of such an amount as would allow the mother to do her duty by them.

" In the consideration of these cases, therefore, the Board would urge upon the Parish Councils that they should not allow themselves to be influenced by any mere question of initial expense, but that they should aim at an aliment of such an amount as will enable worthy and diligent mothers so to devote themselves to the care of their families in childhood that the success of the latter may, in after life, as far as is possible, be assured.

" I am,

" Sir,

" Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) " G. F. STEWART,

" *Secretary.*"

" The Inspector of Poor."

Dr. Mary J. Menzies, who is medical inspector of Edinburgh, the children coming under her special supervision, gave me the following facts as to the general system.

She stated that her experience proved that dependent children boarded out with their own mothers or with guardians was the only possible way for a child to retain its individuality. Every proper precaution is taken by the inspectors to eliminate the pauper spirit. So much attached do the children become to their foster parents, as a general rule, that they provide for these guardians, when necessary, in later life.

" The Parish may board out at any age from birth to 14.

" *The aliment* is usually paid in advance. It varies from 50 cents to \$1.25 per week for each child. The amount paid to relatives is usually less than to non-relatives, but not always so. A large aliment, in many cases \$1.25, is paid for infants, and delicate children. The average aliment from ages to 2 to 14 is 87 cents per week, but some parishes pay \$1.

" *Clothing* is almost invariably provided. One suit or dress, 2 sets underclothing, 2 pairs stockings, and 1 pair boots is the average annual supply. At times as required a top coat, extra boots, mufflers, jerseys, etc., are provided. After the age of 14 many children continue to be supervised by the parish. The parish may pay aliment up to the age of 16 for

backward or delicate children. It does in some cases arrange for the apprenticeship of suitable children to provide clothes to an aliment, gradually deducting in amount until the apprenticeship time is completed.

"*Medical treatment* is provided and cod liver oil, malt extract, etc., supplied where necessary, supplementary to actual medicine. The doctor selected may be the parochial medical officer, the guardian's own medical attendant, or a medical practitioner, especially selected for the children by the boarding-out parish.

"*Inspection*.—Large parishes boarding-out children all over Scotland appoint sub-inspectors for the inspection of the children. These inspectors visit not less than twice a year. The chief inspector and members of the Parish Council visit at intervals about two years. Where a small parish has children boarded-out at a distance the inspector of the parish of residence inspects not less than twice a year, usually more frequently to report not less than twice a year to the parish of chargeability (from where the payment is made).

"*The Homes* (chiefly) 1. Those of working people, e. g., masons, carpenters, miners, laborers, chauffeurs, etc.

"2. Crofter homes. People equivalent to small farmers, who lease the ground and have a joint arrangement with the landlord in developing.

"3. Farm homes. They are boarded with childless couples or with couples who have their own children. It is a condition of the boarding-out system that the children shall be cared for by the guardian as he or she treats or would treat his or her own children. Sufficient sleeping accommodations with suitable separation of the sexes, and cleanliness is insisted upon."



## COST OF CHILDREN BOARDED OUT IN EDINBURGH

Population, 326,000.

The average number of children boarded out during the year ended 15th May, 1913, was 454.

The average cost per child per annum was:

For board .....	£9:2:0
For education .....	2:0
For clothing .....	2:8:5
For removals and incidents .....	2:1
For superintendence (including visitation) .	11:3
For remitting aliment and for nurses' receipts .....	1:0
For medicines and medical attendance....	5:1
<hr/>	
Total . . . . .	£12:11:10 (\$61.27)

A weekly cost of approximately.....	\$1 18
Cost to maintain a child at an orphanage institution (Scotland) .....	4 shilling \$1 00
Clothing and incidentals, travel, etc.....	1 shilling 25
<hr/>	
Total .....	5 shilling \$1 25

It will be noted from the above that it costs more to keep a child in an orphanage than in a private home.

## THE CHILDREN'S ACT OF 1908

Following are some of the important laws at present in operation relative to children. I am indebted for this to the Scottish National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. The word aliment is generally used as allowance.

## INFANT PROTECTION — VISITORS

"It shall be the duty of every local authority to make inquiry whether there are any persons residing therein who undertake the nursing and maintenance of infants in respect of whom notice is required to be given under the foregoing section." If it should be found that there are such persons, the Parish Council must then

appoint one or more persons of either sex to be "infant protection visitors." It is the duty of visitors to visit from time to time any infants so maintained, and also the premises in which they are kept in order to satisfy themselves as to the proper nursing and maintenance of the infants, or to give any necessary advice or directions as to their nursing and maintenance. The Parish Council may also, either in addition to or instead of appointing infant protection visitors, authorize in writing one or more suitable persons of either sex to exercise the powers of infant protection visitors on such terms and conditions as may be stated. In the event of any infants being placed out to nurse by any philanthropic society, the Parish Council may, if satisfied that the infants are properly safeguarded, authorize the society to exercise those powers as respects those boarded-out infants, subject, however, to the obligation to furnish periodical reports.

Section II (2) lays it down that in the case of illegitimate infants the relatives are the persons who would be so related if the infant were legitimate.

*Infants Properly Kept.*—Section 3 prohibits infants from being kept without written sanction of the Parish Council by (a) any person from whose care an infant has been removed; (b) in any premises from which an infant has been removed on account of the premises being dangerous or insanitary, or so unfit as to endanger its health; (c) any person who has been convicted of cruelty to children. The Parish Council may fix the number of infants under the act which may be kept in any dwelling. Section 5 provides for the removal of infants improperly kept, that is, if kept (a) in any premises which are overcrowded, dangerous, or insanitary; or (b) by any person who, by reason of negligence, ignorance, inebriety, immorality, criminal conduct, or other similar cause, is unfit to have the care of it; or (c) by any person, or in any premises, in contravention of any of the provisions of this part of the act. It is laid down in section 7 that a person receiving an infant for reward shall be deemed to have no interest in the life of the child for the purpose of life assurance, and it is made an offence for any such person, either directly or indirectly, to insure or attempt to insure the life of such an infant. Further, if an insurance company knowingly issues a policy on the life of such

an infant, the insurance company becomes guilty of an offence. The penalty for committing an offence under this part of the act is a term of imprisonment not exceeding six months or a fine not exceeding £25.

*Aliment.*— By every law, divine and human, parents are bound to maintain their offspring. The obligation extends to grandchildren if the parents are dead or are unable to fulfil their duty, and only ceases when the children are able to support themselves. The legal obligation is to supply food, clothing, and other necessities, relatively to their position in life. A man is not liable to maintain his stepchildren (unless they are in his custody, charge, or care), except in so far as he may have benefited financially by his marriage with their mother. It has been held in several cases, where it was dangerous to a child's safety or morals to live with its father, and where he had ill-treated it, that he could not fulfil his obligation by offering to take the child. In the case of an illegitimate child, both father and mother are jointly responsible for its maintenance. In order to enforce the responsibilities on the father, paternity must be admitted or be judicially established. Such cases are usually taken before the sheriff in the form of an application for an order for affiliation and aliment. The rate of aliment granted varies from \$.62 per week to \$38.88 a year. In the case of a boy it is usually granted till he is 7 or 10, and a girl to 8 or 12 years of age, or until the child can earn its own subsistence. If paternity is neither admitted nor established, the mother alone is responsible for maintaining her child. No obligation rests on the grandparents of an illegitimate child.

*Medical Examination.*— Section 4 provides that "a school board may, and where required by the Department shall provide for the medical examination and supervision of the pupils attending schools within their district." For the purpose of this section the school board may employ medical officers or nurses, or arrange with voluntary agencies for the supply of nurses, and provide appliances or other requisites. In the course of a Memorandum on the Medical Examination and Supervision of Children, issued by the Scotch Education Department, the following passages occur, explaining the object of this enactment:

“ The school board should satisfy themselves that every pupil under their charge is fit to profit by the education offered. This they can do only by medical examination. They should also secure that, as far as practicable, the health of the pupil is maintained at a proper standard. This they can do only by constant medical supervision. If the broad purposes of the new Act are to be realized, the medical examination must be an individual examination of every child, with the object of discovering what can be done to promote his highest personal efficiency, both as a present pupil and as a potential citizen.”

The examination of children will probably be made in most cases on admission to school, and be recorded on a schedule, which will be entered up from time to time throughout the school life of the child. The Memorandum quoted thus describes the nature of the examination :

“ The personal examination of the child should take account of all the conditions that affect his fitness for effective attendance at school. These are such as the following — the general hygiene of the school and of the home, with special reference to cleanliness, overcrowding, and work out of school hours; defects and diseases of the senses, particularly of the eye and ear; the conditions of nose, throat, and skin; all general acute diseases and chronic diseased conditions affecting the capacity for school work; all defects or deformities, whether congenital or acquired, so marked as to necessitate special arrangements in the classroom or special modification of mental or physical education.”

*Blind and Deaf-mute Children.*— The Education of Blind and Deaf-Mute Children (Scotland) Act 1890 (a) provides that if the parent of such a child between 5 and 16 years of age is from poverty unable to pay for the education of his child, it shall be the duty of the school board to provide for the efficient elementary education of the child in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and also industrial training, either in a board school or in some approved institution, and where necessary, to provide for the boarding of the child. If a school board should refuse or delay to dis-

charge its duty, any person interested may apply to the sheriff for an order ordaining it to fulfil its obligation. Education is made compulsory for a blind or deaf mute child over seven years of age.

Under the school board of Glasgow, classes for mentally defective children are held at fourteen centres, with 632 children on the roll. Classes for physically defective children are held at nine centres, with 539 children on the roll. The board has also a day industrial school, with classes for physically and mentally defective children. The Edinburgh school board has one school for defective children.

*Conveyance to School.*—Section 3 (3) empowers school boards to incur expenditure “in bringing opportunities for education within easier reach of children in outlying parts of their district, whether by providing means of conveyance, or paying traveling expenses for teachers or pupils to and from their homes, or defraying the cost of lodging pupils in convenient proximity to a school (provided such cost shall not exceed the amount which might alternatively have been incurred in paying traveling expenses for such pupils), or otherwise.” This enactment extends powers which hitherto were confined to cases of crippled or defective children.

*Meals.*—By section 3 (2), it is made lawful for a school board, if they think fit, in addition to any powers already vested in them to incur expenditure, and to defray the same out of the school fund, “in providing accommodation, apparatus, equipment, and service for the preparation and supply of meals to pupils attending school within their district: provided that no expense incurred in the purchase of food prepared and served at such meals be defrayed out of the school fund except as hereinafter provided.”

One practical result of medical inspection is here shown. The attention of the school board is thus, or may be otherwise, drawn to the case of any neglected child. The parent or guardian is first to be warned as to the condition of the child. If the warning is unheeded, he is to be summoned to appear before the school board and give an explanation. If no satisfactory explanation is forthcoming, the case is to be reported to the Procurator-Fiscal and prosecution is to be instituted, in the event of a prosecution under such act of the sheriff, that such parent or parents or guardian

are unable by reason of poverty or ill-health to supply sufficient and proper food or clothing for the child, or to give the child the necessary personal attention, the school board, if satisfied that the necessities of the case will not be provided by voluntary agency, shall make such provision for the child out of the school fund as they deem necessary during such period while the child is under obligation to attend school as they may determine.

### ENGLAND

Of all the six countries visited, after due consideration, and as a general thing, I am of the opinion that England meets less adequately the needs of her poor than any other country.

Poverty is a prevalent thing in England. In some cities the local authorities have developed schemes for reaching their immediate poor, better, perhaps, than others. But in the main they seem only to meet poverty somewhat half way. The relief appears to be rather temporary than remedial.

There seems to be lack of concentration toward the elimination of pauperism by direct methods. This condition may be due to having so many kinds of public poor relief in operation; or the present condition may be ascribed to a constantly growing desire on the part of the government to establish some adequate system either of unemployment nature or the present Insurance Act.

Even if this be the fundamental cause, the fact remains that 22.2 per cent. per 1000 population are paupers or receiving public poor relief; in London 29.3.

So busy has this country been in perfecting old age pensions and such other means of future provision against pauperism that it is only within recent years, perhaps since the inception of the Children's Act of 1908, that England has awakened to the great need of conserving youth, and thus avoiding the accumulating burden of old age pauperism.

In other words, they are now beginning to believe more in children's pensions (mothers' pensions) as the best means for striking at the causes rather than alleviating the existence of poor relief.

They are recognizing that relief to children with parents, and especially the children of widows, is one of the first and best methods in this direction.

This view is well expressed by Mr. C. F. Adair Hore of the Local Government Board, who is a member of the Royal Commission on Poor Laws, and who wrote the report of that Commission, an exhaustive volume, and who, as stated in my preliminary remarks, is the most noteworthy authority of foreign and colonial systems of poor relief in Europe. Mr. Hore discusses the systems as follows:

“ The last occasion on which official cognizance was taken of the position of poor relief outside this country was in 1872, when brief reports on the subject were collected and presented to Parliament by the then President of the Local Government Board, the Rt. Hon. G. Selater Booth. At that date, as is clear from this return, poor relief was a neglected element in most countries; the poor laws were indefinite and relief was practically a matter of local charitable concern with which public policy and government had very little to do.

“ Since that date, however, social and economic conditions have almost universally undergone radical change, of which the primary cause is to be found in the exceptional growth of industry and trade in the past thirty years and the consequent increase of urban population. This change, which is particularly marked in the case of Germany; of New York, Massachusetts and other industrial States of the American Union, and which has in more recent years become a feature also of other States of Europe and of many of the British Colonies, has at once created new problems for the poor law and social organizations and has supplied a motive force making their solution imperative. Such matters as unemployment, the treatment of able-bodied poor, and vagrancy, which centre in the problem of the organization of industry; education, the assumption of public responsibility for neglected children, the feeding of school children, the restriction of juvenile labour and the public treatment of juvenile offenders, which involve the whole question of the relation of the public authority to childhood; and the adequate housing of the working classes and the prevention or demolition of slums, are among the subjects which 40 years ago were scarcely more than matters of philanthropic or academic

concern. The result of the change in social conditions has been a growing volume of social legislation in nearly every country.

"There is evidence of a movement in favour of reform, particularly as regards the country districts, but reform is not regarded as urgent, and there can hardly be much doubt that the extraordinary industrial expansion of the Empire coupled with the far-seeing schemes of State-aided or State-sanctioned insurance are mainly accountable for this. If we turn to America the signs of poor law reform are still more in evidence. Many of the State poor laws have been remodelled or amended in the past 30 and even 20 years, and under the impulse and guidance of State Boards of Charities, which have now been formed in all the leading States, material improvement is being effected in the methods of administration.

"This body of legislation is the outcome of a wide-spread popular interest in problems of poor relief which had hardly an existence 40 years ago. The local and national conferences on poor law matters initiated in this country in 1873 have been initiated by several States of the American Union as well as by France, Italy and other countries; these in turn have led to international congresses, both on the Continent and in America, the reports of which, though mixed with much that is merely discursive, are valuable evidence of the lines on which poor law reform is moving.

"In spite of legislative activity, however, it is not apparent that, with perhaps one or two exceptions, any country has yet succeeded in devising a poor law system which is considered satisfactory. In Europe, for example, the commune is still universally the primary area for relief purposes, with the result that in country districts relief (more especially institutional and medical relief) is almost everywhere admitted to be gravely deficient. Again a central authority with adequate powers of inspection and control is noticeably absent in most European countries and is not to be found at all in America or in the British dependencies, with the result that uniformity of administration is impossible to secure and the



only motive to efficiency or improvement is local opinion or local official initiative — both doubtful quantities in such matters as poor relief. These deficiencies are enhanced by the character of poor law legislation which, in most countries, is concerned rather with the juristic side of its subject (e. g., the law of settlement, the liability of relatives, and the constitution of the relief authority), than with the method or principles of relief. The provision of an institution of any kind is, for example, not obligatory on the local relief authority in Europe or in America, and the organization of relief so far as personnel is concerned is usually left entirely to local discretion.

“The interest of poor law reform lies in the fact that in nearly all cases it has been directed less to the formation of a complete organization for relief of all kinds than to the improvement of particular branches of relief, such as the assistance of aged poor, of children, or of medical relief. And since the existing poor law organization is in most cases weak, reformers have been the more easily able to experiment with schemes affecting a far larger section of the population than any system of mere poor relief.

“The absence of a well-organized poor law has been of advantage so far as it has enabled them without violent disturbance of accepted ideas to travel into the wider region of public assistance. Hence in estimating the present position of the poor law outside this country, it has not been possible to avoid dealing with such matters as the public treatment of neglected children, old-age pensions, State schemes of insurance against the risk of old age, sickness and invalidity, and other forms in which public assistance has been provided by means which transcend the poor law.

“The English poor law, it will probably be admitted, has not always succeeded in dealing satisfactorily with the larger towns as substantive areas for poor law purposes. Most large towns in England contain, in whole or in part, two or more poor law unions, and, though this anomaly dates no doubt from the period of the early formation of unions, when many of the areas, which are now densely populated were rural or

suburban, the necessary adjustment of boundaries has been ignored. This anomaly has not arisen in continental systems or in the United States, or where it has arisen has been readily overcome by the extension of boundaries — and this from the simple fact already noticed that outside this country in nearly all cases the unit area of local (civil) government is usually ipso facto the poor law area also.

### *Children*

“Relief to Orphan or Deserted Children — Relief to orphan or deserted children was originally in all, and still is in most, systems left to the local relief authorities as a branch of ordinary public assistance. In England, orphan or deserted children, or children classed with these as in the same physical condition of need (such as those whose parent or parents are in prison or in hospital), are entitled to relief from the guardians. Children of the same classes are relieved by the local (communal) relief authorities in Germany, and in the Scandinavian States, and in most States of Europe and of the United States. In a few countries, however, the relief of pauper children has been transferred to local authorities of wider area or even to the State.

“There remains to be noticed the group of States which have adopted a scheme of child-relief centering directly in the State. New South Wales may be taken as typical.

“Here a State Children’s Relief Board has the care and control of all ‘State children,’ a term embracing both orphan and deserted and all other classes of children for whom public assistance is given. Children are, as a rule, taken to local receiving depots in the first instance and are thence sent to the foster-parents selected by local agents of the Central Board, and the payment for their maintenance is defrayed by the same authority.

“The Board itself is directly responsible to the Minister for Public Instruction, and consists of persons appointed by the Minister. Its administrative work is conducted through a department of permanent officials, and through Inspectors who oversee the children boarded-out and the general working

of the Board's operations locally. Similar centralization of relief to children is secured by the Children's Council of South Australia.

"Centralization is the aim also of the organization in Ontario (Canada) which centres in the State Department for Neglected and Dependent Children. Here, however, the burden on the State is comparatively trifling, since boarding-out can be effected without cost to the State owing to the readiness of small landholders to take children who may become useful to them on the farms, and the orphanages to which children may be sent are charitable institutions receiving only a small capitation grant from the State.

"The State Department acts through local children's aid societies and children's committees, one or more of which are set up in each electoral district, and it is their duty to take charge of and find homes both for destitute children and for 'neglected children' committed to their care by the courts or the police. The local bodies are purely voluntary associations: the official element in the whole system is limited to the superintendent and assistant inspectors, and the officers of the Central Department. The work of the superintendent and his assistants consists in inspecting the children boarded-out and the work of the local Committees.

"Relief to Children with Parents — Probably every Poor Law system recognises the grant of relief to parents whose condition of need arises from the burden of a family, with the commonest cases of such relief being of course the relief of widows or deserted wives with children and, frequently with some restrictions, women with illegitimate children, and for these cases out-relief is the ordinary mode of public assistance. Under the English Poor Law over 50 per cent. of the children, whose parents are in receipt of out-relief, are children of widows and deserted wives. In such cases it is usual to regard the relief as given to the mother to meet her own necessities, even though the amount of relief given may be proportioned to the number of children.

"The merit of this view lies in its recognition of the desirability of maintaining the responsibility of the parent.

Any system by which relief in such cases could be secured to the immediate and, if possible, exclusive benefit of the children would, in proportion as it was successful, tend to weaken this responsibility. At the same time there is a growing disposition to recognise the claim of the child as paramount, and with it an endeavour to secure the relief of the child's needs apart from those of the parent.

"The most obvious means of gaining this object is to relieve the parent of the custody of the child entirely, and this method has for some years been resorted to by unions in London and other populous centres. A very large number of the children in English Poor Law schools are children whose parents were offered and accepted maintenance of their children rather than outdoor relief. But even where ordinary outdoor relief is given in cases of this kind it is practicable to secure the separate interests of the child while permanently relieving the parent.

"The Prussian Poor Law, like the English, has regard primarily to the needs of the head of the family, but in practice, at least in the best administered towns, relief to children with parents occupies a distinctive position. This class of relief, which passes under the specific name of *pflegegeld* (foster relief), is described in the Berlin relief regulations. The relief is formally given to the mother, and the amount of relief is in some measure determined by her own means, though there is, or may be, a scale of relief proportionate to the number of children; but the relief given must be adequate, since the avowed object is to prevent a woman being compelled by too scanty relief to devote all her time to earning her living by outside work, whereby the health and education of the children would suffer. Once allowed, the relief will be continued for each child up to its fourteenth year. In return the relief authority acquires the right of supervising the upbringing and education of the children: it must be seen that they do not work for a wage under ten years of age, nor between ten and fourteen in a factory; and their school attendance and record are to be carefully watched.

"The more advanced States of the American Union have given attention to the subject of neglected children, but on

the whole the United States have so far done less in this direction than might have been expected. New York and Indiana may be taken as representative of the best States. In New York the courts — usually special children's courts — deal with cases brought before them by local children's aid societies; and may assign neglected children to the care of such societies or to the Poor Law. In 1906 about one-fifth of the whole number of children in institutions had been committed to them by magistrates' orders on the ground of their own destitution or that of their parents.

"In Indiana, and some other States, 'boards of children's guardians' have been appointed in each county, who have the care and oversight of all children maintained at public expense; and one of their duties is to bring cases of neglected children before the courts which are empowered to vest the guardianship of such children in the board. The children are dealt with either by boarding-out or in institutions.

"In both Australasia and Canada child relief has, as already mentioned, obtained relatively far more attention than in the States, and there is a marked tendency to include the care of neglected children within the sphere of public assistance. In New South Wales the Department of the Ministry of Public Instruction is responsible for all children under public care, from the simply destitute to reformatory and neglected cases, and though formally, so far as regards orphan and destitute children, the Department is under the authority of the State Children's Relief Board, which has its own local officers and organization, it has succeeded in utilizing the latter for the purpose of boarding-out neglected children in addition to its own industrial schools and reformatories. Victoria has a State Department of Neglected and Reformatory Children, which is formally responsible only for these two classes, destitute children being left to local charitable bodies — but with its better organization and equipment it is in fact tending to absorb all classes of children. At the end of 1905, the Department had charge of three times the number of children dealt with by charitable orphanages. The method of relief is in nearly all cases boarding-out.

"Methods of Relief — Controversy as to the relative merits of institutional relief and of boarding-out for children is not peculiar to this country (England). There is much to be said in favor of both forms of relief. With institutional relief it is certainly possible to give more effective supervision to the upbringing of the children under public care than is practicable in the case of boarded-out children: education, and particularly technical instruction, can be more easily managed; and where the cottage home system as opposed to the 'barrack' school — or the 'congregate system' of American Poor Law — is adopted, the advantages of home life can be practically secured. On behalf of boarding-out, on the other hand, the merits most deservedly claimed are: (a) that the child so relieved is placed under conditions similar to those of the natural home with some of the variety of circumstances of good or evil fortune which it would meet in ordinary life and from which it is shielded in an institution, and that (b) given satisfactory conditions of compulsory education, both primary and technical, the boarded-out child can be adequately reared at far less cost than the child in an institution. Without discussing the merits of the question, it will be sufficient to note here that boarding-out has now been generally adopted in place of institutional treatment, and is also the more usual method of relief in nearly every country of Europe. So far as the New World is concerned it must, however, be remembered that the conditions of life in rural districts are very dissimilar to those of this country. The rural population is largely composed of small landowning farmers who are prepared to take children and bring them up on the land with the knowledge that they will be of use on the farms at a later age. Hence, in these countries it is common to find that the majority of children are boarded-out free of charge. Somewhat similar conditions of peasant proprietorship obtain in France, in the Scandinavian countries and in many parts of Austria-Hungary. It seems probable that the absence of a similar class in this country, where the manual labourer dependent exclusively on wage-earnings and the substantial tenant farmer form the

bulk of the rural population, must be held largely accountable for the relative unpopularity of boarding-out among Poor Law authorities.

"Where boarding-out has been successfully adopted as the main system of child relief, the principal conditions insisted on appeared to be: (a) that the head of the foster-family must be engaged in agriculture, not in an urban or industrial occupation; (b) that there is adequate inspection with full power of instant removal if the circumstances seem to render this desirable; and (c) that elementary and particularly technical education are carefully provided for. So far as inspection is concerned it is important to note that, while official inspection is in some degree necessary, the most effective work is done by the voluntary help of local committees or individuals, and judging by the examples afforded by New York, Ontario, and several States of Australia, it seems probable that voluntary assistance can be more successfully organized in the sphere of child relief than in any other branch of public assistance. For securing technical instruction apprenticeship is the most usual method, but it is worthy of note that in more than one instance the central authorities are finding it necessary to provide institutions in which technical training, for other than agricultural pursuits, can be given. It was largely this difficulty of securing technical education which led the International Congress on Childhood (1901) to agree, in regard to the vexed question of the relative merits of boarding-out and institutional relief, to a resolution limiting boarding-out to children under six years of age, and requiring institutional treatment for children over that age.

#### *"Finance of Poor"*

"Nearly every poor law system recognizes three normal sources of supply —(1) local rates, (2) grants in aid from the funds of an authority of wider area, such as the County or the State, and (3) charitable gifts or endowments. The proportions in which each of these sources of supply contribute to the cost of relief varies a good deal. Local rates form the basis of poor law finance not only in the United

Kingdom, but in Germany, in Denmark and the Scandinavian countries and in the States of the American Union.

"Charitable endowments and gifts as a source of supply to official relief, deserve notice if only for the reason that every poor law system except the English and American, admits of them. As a fact, not only do those systems such as the French, which are based on officialized charity continue to derive a large part of their official income from this source, but in the countries which, like Germany, recognize local obligation and provide for their relief primarily out of rates, charitable endowments administered by the poor law authorities supplement the budget to a substantial extent."

### WIDOWS AND CHILDREN

Even in this country with its various systems of poor relief, the growing tendency is directed toward the widow and her children whose appeal for State aid seems to be more obligatory than formerly, since as stated, 50 per cent. of pauperism in England is made up of widows and children.

There is a present movement on foot to make this a distinct class of relief, and the best yet formulated plan has been adopted in Liverpool. Although this is not yet as entirely adequate as the officials look forward to, yet the whole plan it will be seen, seems to be more concentrated and is gradually bringing about more desirable results than perhaps is the case in any other section of England proper.

In such various parts of England the governing power is vested usually in the local government board. Such localities have authority to work out their own plans for outdoor relief.

This efficient work mentioned as being done in Liverpool is in the second most populous union in England where weekly allowances, clothing and medical treatment is allowed widows with children since 1909 by out-door relief. Following are the findings:

"In 1909 the report of the Committee showed that, after paying rent, the amount left was insufficient to provide proper food, and that, generally, the relief granted was inadequate.

"It was agreed, therefore, to recommend, as a general principle, that each case should not only be dealt with on its merits, but that the relief granted should be adequate.



" With this object in view they considered that the Relief Committees should not feel bound to grant any specified sum for each child, but, that where they had been in the habit of granting \$.25 only per child per week, it should be increased to not less than \$.37. They also recommended a revision of the food scales, in order that food of a more nourishing character might be provided.

" In 1910 the proposals adopted had improved the condition of the cases, especially with regard to the children.

" Guardians had a right to assume more responsibility in seeing that the children were properly cared for, and that more frequent visitations was necessary in order to afford guidance and help in the many matters relating to the home and the condition of the children."

Harris Cleaver, head of the Union, stated as follows in January, 1914:

" The Visitors have been most earnest and thoughtful in carrying out their duties, and I cannot speak too highly of the value of their work. Being trained nurses, their advice on matters of health has been of great benefit, cases of sickness requiring attention have been found to exist, and arrangements for medical attention have been made. Habits of cleanliness have been insisted upon, and the improvement in all respects has been most marked.

" In many cases firmness is required to make the mothers realize the seriousness of the position and the detriment of their children by their neglect, but it is gratifying to note that the visitors are generally received with pleasure; the widows are encouraged and glad to have someone in whom to confide and look for advice.

" Once a month Miss Sayrs reports fully as to her visits to widows on relief to the Committee, who go into each case which needs special attention, and then make their recommendations to the Relief Committees. A review of the reports will readily satisfy as to the value of the work which is being done.

" A form of case paper has been instituted, and the record shows the names and ages of the widows and children, occupa-

tion (if any), average weekly earnings, other sources of income, weekly rent, relief granted, changes of circumstances and residence, and full particulars of the visitor's reports are duly entered. The Committee are thereby enabled to review the history of each family since the commencement of the system.

"The Committee find that this class of case, like all others, varies very considerably, and many of the widows with the assistance of the Guardians make a successful effort to bring up their families on proper lines, whilst others, whatever may be done for them, seem unable to rise to the occasion. The Committee consider that the greatest possible discrimination should be used to decide whether the case is the more suitable for indoor or out-door treatment. They are agreed that, providing the conditions are suitable, the care and training by the mother is the most desirable, and that every endeavor should be made to assist her in carrying out this very important duty.

"With regard to women with large families who may have recently become widows and who obviously will require the assistance of the Guardians at no distant date, it is felt that whilst not wishing to invite applications it would be a decided advantage if relief were sought before the home was dismantled.

"When unable to find the children at home, the Schools at which they attend have been visited by assistants to ascertain whether the clothing, which is also provided for those children who are found to be inadequately clad, is actually worn by them; and in this connection, by means of the generous assistance which has been afforded by the school officials, useful information and reports have also been received regarding the general condition of the children. The examination of the clothing given also encourages the widows to keep it in good repair, as unless this effort is made the supply is not renewed.

"An arrangement is now also in operation whereby certain of the school children under the supervision of the Board are provided with free dinners at the several feeding centres

arranged by the Education Authority, under the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906. This form of assistance is granted by the Guardian as an auxiliary to the allowance made to a family, in particular circumstances such as arise where the mother is unable to return home from work to prepare the mid-day meal for her children. Such children obtain their dinners in precisely the same manner, and without any form of distinction, to that of the ordinary scholar whose mid-day meal is provided at the cost of the Education Committee.

"In addition to the weekly relief in food and money during the past year, 472 cases have received boots and stockings, suits, dresses, and various garments; 246 fire-guards have also been provided, and about 50 beds have been given out."

RETURN OF THE RELIEF GRANTED TO WIDOWS WITH CHILDREN FOR THE FIRST WEEK  
IN NOVEMBER IN EACH OF THE YEARS 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913

YEAR	Number of widows	Number of children	Amount of relief granted per week	Rate per child per week	Amount of relief granted per annum
1909.....	505	1,601	\$403 38	\$0 26	\$20,975 76
1910.....	555	1,770	500 58	28½	26,030 16
1911.....	558	1,779	563 76	32½	29,315 52
1912.....	575	1,804	660 96	37	34,369 92
1913.....	545	1,828	714 42	39½	37,149 84

NOTE—In addition to the above-named amounts granted to widows and children, the following advantages are also available, viz.:

Free medical attendance and medicine.  
Advice of Visitors who are trained nurses.  
Clothing distributed to 836 persons.  
Bedding distributed to 130 persons.  
Fireguards distributed to 424 persons.  
Orders for convalescent Homes, etc., granted to 11 persons.

### THE WIDOW AND HER FUTURE IN ENGLAND

That the widow's claim has become a poignant factor in the Poor Laws of England is well evidenced by the special attention given to the subject by the latest Royal Commission on Poor Laws in 1909. Following is an extract of conclusion from the majority report:

“Outdoor Relief to Widows.—We have seen that the question of out-relief to widows has always been one of difficulty in Poor Law administration; and it is certainly not less so at the present day. It is a question which has to be considered very largely, if not mainly, from the point of view of the children; but there are other issues involved which must be raised here.

“In the reaction of the seventies against out-relief the Local Government Board took a stricter line than that of the Orders, and, in the Circular which it addressed to the Inspectors on December 2, 1871, it recommended that out-relief should not be granted to any able-bodied widow with one child only, and stated that, in the case of an able-bodied widow with more than one child, it may be desirable to take one or more children into the workhouse in preference to giving outdoor relief. It is probable that the first recommendation is very gradually observed; in many Unions the rule is that a widow is expected to maintain herself and one child; in some few it is held that she can maintain two children. In respect to the second recommendation there is much greater divergency, both in opinion and in practice. The general feeling is strongly in favour of leaving the children of widows with their mothers, on the twofold ground that the mother is the proper person to have charge of them, and that it is cheaper than either placing them in an institution or boarding them out. On the other hand it is maintained that, when deprived of her husband's help, it is by no means certain that a woman is capable of bringing up her children well, especially when she has to go out to work, or when there are boys in the family who need a strong control over them. With respect to the greater cheapness of out-relief, again, it is too often only another name for very inadequate relief, which does not permit of the children being properly clothed and nourished.

“The extent to which the former view preponderates is shown by the fact that on January 1st, 1907, there was 34,749 widows, with 96,342 children receiving out-relief, as against 1,240 widows with 2,998 children being relieved in

the workhouse. The number of widows' children in schools and institutions would, however, be larger than this, though what proportion they form of the 60,421 indoor children is not known.

"In some few places the evils of the mother going out to work have been felt so strongly that the experiment has been tried of making a sufficient allowance to enable her to stay at home altogether, and give her whole time to looking after the home and children.

"Question of future administration of outdoor relief to widows.—Admitting that little good and much harm is done by the present administration of out-relief to widows the question still remains how far, with better discrimination and wiser supervision, it might be possible to utilize it in the better interests of mothers and children alike. To part the mother entirely from her children is an impossible policy, and, except in cases of grave misconduct, undesirable for both; to ask that some of the children should be sent to school, where there are good Poor Law schools, is to ask little more than a reasonable mother in every rank of life is prepared to yield for the sake of her children. To give the mother a sufficient maintenance without work in return is wise only in very carefully selected cases, and, as shown by experience, may in some cases easily lead to the neglect of the children and the home. Sometimes it may be possible to arrange for friends and relations to look after the children or contribute to their support. Every case seems to call for special and individual attention: and it is well worth considering whether, in towns of any size, the necessary help might not sometimes be best given by means of day boarding-schools, on the lines of the day industrial schools. Outdoor relief, administered on a fixed scale, regardless of other resources or of home conditions, stands condemned by its results."

That their out-door relief is unsatisfactory is also evidenced by the following comments in the report:

"Insufficient inquiry into circumstances of applicants: inadequate outdoor relief.—In forming our judgment upon this important question we rely partly upon the evidence laid

before us by witnesses, partly upon Reports made to us by our Investigators, but largely also upon our own experience, gathered by attending a large number of Board meetings and Relief Committees, and by visiting the recipients of the relief in their own homes. In the course of our inquiries we have found that in many places the same defects have crept into the administration as were reported in 1870, and we have again and again noticed upon what diverse and often conflicting principles out-relief is administered by different Boards of Guardians. In some Unions out-relief is not given unless there is a sufficient income to pay rent, under the mistaken idea that it is illegal to give relief sufficiently adequate to pay for shelter, thus encouraging applicants to overstate their incomes in order to qualify for relief. In other Unions a like amount would debar an applicant from getting outdoor relief, thus encouraging applicants to understate their income. In some Unions, in the case of a widow with children, no relief is given for the widow and one child, even though it may be impossible for her to earn anything, owing either to her own condition, or to the number of children of tender years who need her constant attention. Whilst some Unions take into account the whole income of the household in computing the amount of relief, other Unions ignore entirely the income of those who are not legally liable to repay; and even, although there may be a sufficient income for all the members of the household, brought in by those who are legally liable, relief is not refused in case of aged people. Again, relief is given in some places on the same low and rigid scale both in the case of assumed resources and in cases where there is no possible reason to believe there can be any other income. Some boards endeavour to act upon the principle of sufficient inquiry and adequate relief; but the large majority still give wholly inadequate allowances, and rely upon the insufficiency of their inquiries for 'unrevealed resources.' If these resources happen to exist, all is well; if they do not, then the recipients inevitably suffer. Committees of our number have been present at many Relief Committees where hardly any inquiry had been made as to the means of the applicants, and where the Guardians habitually relied upon 'unrevealed resources' in fixing the amount of relief."

## SIGNIFICANT CONCLUSIONS

It is certainly evident that this Royal Commission has concluded against the workhouses and institutions for children that have prevailed in England. (United States has more institutions than elsewhere.) They seem to favor a home environment summing up the situation in this way:

“Conclusions.—Our conclusions on this part of our inquiry may be thus summarized. We condemn the maintenance of children in workhouses, that is, in institutions where there are adult paupers. We believe that the other systems of training, namely, district schools, scattered homes, grouped cottages, boarding-out have given, and will continue to give, under proper supervision, good results. So far as we have been able to discover, the children trained and educated under each of these systems do not relapse into pauperism in any appreciable number. Though the results of the grouped cottage system are satisfactory, the cost per unit educated is in many cases far too high and more than should be spent. Boarding-out, we believe, can be developed, and we strongly recommend it should be, but extreme care must be taken to associate adequate supervision with its extension and to ensure the sufficiency of the amount paid. We are of the opinion that the children whose parents are in receipt of out-relief require much more careful watching than has hitherto been given to them, both as to the adequacy of their maintenance and the character of their surroundings. We recommend that steps be taken to secure that the children be medically inspected from time to time. We suggest that a system of day-boarding schools for some of these children might in populous towns be established much on the same plans as the existing day industrial schools, and that under proper safeguards emigration might be utilized by the guardians as a method of treatment, in suitable cases, not only for orphan and deserted children who have been adopted by the guardians. We recommend that the power of local authorities to adopt and retain children of parents of proved vicious and vagrant habits be more commonly exercised than has been the practice in the past, and that systematic records of the subsequent occu-

pations, calling and conditions of all children trained in any of the above institutions be kept by the authority responsible for their training and education."

### SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

"The supervision of children boarded-out within the Union should be placed in the hands of competent women officers, and should be brought under Local Government Board inspection. Special care should be taken when the boarding-out is with relatives, and all such cases should be specially notified to the Local Government Board.

"Effective steps should be taken to secure that the maintenance of children in the workhouse be no longer recognized as a legitimate way of dealing with them.

"Guardians should have power to retain supervision of adopted children up to the age of twenty-one, and in such cases parental responsibility should be more strictly enforced, in some cases by detention in an institution, and, wherever practicable, by charging to the parents the whole or a part of the cost of maintenance of the children; such children should become the wards of the local authority up to the age of twenty-one; the children, whether removed from their parents or left with them, should be kept under supervision; and one of the parents, if found worthy, or some other responsible person should, if willing to act in that capacity, be associated with the Local Authority as the official guardian. Every case in which a conviction is obtained should be reported to the authority by the police.

"Voluntary agencies should be recognized by the Public Assistance Authority as regards the after-care of Poor Law Children, and should report to it; such reports to be entered on a record.

"A system of supervision and record such as prevails in the case of children leaving industrial school and reformatories should be applied to the children leaving the care of the Poor Law Authorities.

"There should be closer supervision of the condition of children in receipt of out-relief. Care should be taken to



ensure that the total income from whatever source is sufficient to afford proper food, clothing, and housing conditions for the whole family, and the Public Assistance Authority should ascertain that the children are being properly nourished.

“ Unless satisfactory conditions in the home can be assured, the children should be maintained in a Poor Law institution or an industrial school, and no children should be maintained by out-relief in immoral surroundings.

“ There should be more medical supervision of all children under the Poor Law, both indoor and outdoor.

“ The employment of mothers in receipt of out-relief should not in all cases be prohibited. But the circumstances in each case should be carefully considered, and watched, and the mothers should not be expected to earn unless satisfactory arrangements can be made for the children; for many such children provision might be most satisfactorily made by means of day boarding schools. When the children are too young to go to school, the mother should not go out to work where it is impossible to provide a sufficient substitute. Special provision should, where necessary, be made for the children of widowers.

“ Consideration should be given to the question whether all voluntary charitable institutions dealing with children should not be registered and subject to the same supervision and be required to co-operate with the public authority.

“ The policy and terms of the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, should be reconsidered in its relation to the relief of distress generally; if relief for necessitous children is required, and is not, and cannot be, met from voluntary sources, it should become part of the duty of the Public Assistance Committees to provide such assistance as may be necessary by way of meals or otherwise.

“ Care should be taken that the children of widows get a fair start on leaving school.”

## GENERAL METHODS OF RELIEF

*Methods of Relief; Indoor Paupers.*—The paupers classed indoor relief comprise (a) those maintained in workhouses, and in other Poor Law institutions provided by Poor Law authorities, including “separate schools” belonging to individual unions, and schools under the direction of the Managers of School Districts for a combination of two or more unions; in cottage and other homes of various kinds for children, and a few minor separate institutions, other than fever and small-pox hospitals, belonging to the Managers of the Metropolitan Asylum District; and (b) the paupers who were maintained in training homes and schools, hospitals and other institutions, not provided by Poor Law authorities, which are designed for the education and training of children or for the treatment of cases of particular infirmity, e. g., institutions for the blind, deaf and dumb.

The number of men, women, and children, excluding casual paupers, who were in receipt of relief on the 1st January, 1912, were:

	LONDON			ENGLAND AND WALES		
	Men	Women	Children	Men	Women	Children
Indoor.....	33,126	23,233	22,101	127,297	80,348	72,136
Outdoor.....	5,812	14,830	13,419	65,134	170,169	181,229
Lunatics in asylums, etc..	8,293	11,118	9	44,327	51,512	1,044
Total.....	47,231	49,181	35,529	236,758	302,029	254,409
Difference as compared with January 1, 1911..	1,874	6,595	823	25,547	61,113	2,552

## FACTS AND STATISTICS AS TO CHILDREN

On January 1st, 1912, there was relieved in England and Wales 204,633 children.

104,993 were children of 39,416 widows.

*Outdoor Paupers.*—The paupers classed as “Outdoor,” who formed 56 per cent. of the whole number of persons relieved, comprised persons in receipt of relief in money or articles of necessity, but not maintained in any institution either in the union to which they were chargeable or in other unions; persons in receipt of

medical relief only; and orphan or deserted children boarded-out within or beyond the union.

The number of children boarded out in England and Wales were 10,447.

**Pauper Children.**— The children under 16 years of age (except lunatic or idiot children and those relieved with casual paupers) in receipt of indoor relief numbered 70,698, and those in receipt of outdoor relief 181,139.

In the Unions in Wales (with Monmouth) there were 3,098 indoor and 20,561 outdoor pauper children.

**Separate Institutions for Children.**— The institutions above referred to under the term "separate institutions for children" comprised:

Six schools under the control of managers for combinations of unions.

Twenty-four separate schools, other than those constructed on the plan of cottage homes, belonging to individual unions and under special regulations.

Two hundred and twenty-two groups of cottage homes, sets of scattered homes, and receiving and other small homes.

The total number of children maintained in this whole group of institutions specially provided for children, numbered 32,552, a decrease of 144 as compared with the figures for 1911.

The total number of unions the guardians of which, separately or in combination, had provided separate institutions of any kind was 224. In many cases children are sent to institutions belonging to other unions.

**Institutions not Provided by Poor Law Authorities.**— Institutions not provided by Boards of Guardians consist for the most part of private institutions in which boys and girls receive industrial or service training and to which pauper children are sent by guardians. The whole number of pauper children (exclusive of imbecile children) thus maintained was 11,540, or 365 more than in the previous year.

Of the children relieved in institutions which are not provided by poor law authorities 9,359 were in certified institutions.

**Training Ships.**— The total number of boys on training ships, including the "Exmouth," which is provided by the Managers of

the Metropolitan Asylum Board, on January 1st was 1,140 a decrease of 5 as compared with the number in the previous year.

(b) Outdoor Children.—Of the 181,139 children in receipt of outdoor relief (exclusive of insane and casual paupers), the large majority are simply children whose parents were in receipt of outdoor relief: only 11,306 were shown in the returns as orphans or other children relieved without parents.

The returns also classify the whole number of children relieved (exclusive of insane and casual paupers) according to the personal conditions of the recipients or of their parents. The numbers were as follows:

	Unions in London	Unions outside London	England and Wales
	34,565	217,272	251,837
Difference as compared with			
1st January, 1911.....	892	1,846	2,738

Children Under Three Years of Age in Institutions.—Of the total number of children (excluding insane and casuals), relieved on January 1, 1912, in institutions, viz., 70,698, there were 9,397 under 3 years of age, and 61,301 over that age, and these were distributed among the different kinds of institutions (or wards of the workhouses) as shown below:

	ENGLAND AND WALES Under 3 years of age	Over 3 years of age
In separate infirmaries .....	3,451	4,675
In infirm wards of workhouses.....	529	715
In receiving wards of workhouses.....	17	126
In other wards of workhouses.....	4,593	8,603
In all other institutions .....	807	47,182

It will be observed that 47,182 or 77.0 per cent. of the children over the age of three were in institutions separate from the workhouse. Such institutions include the various classes of separate schools, cottage homes, etc. Of the children retained in wards of the workhouses (other than infirm wards or receiving wards) a comparatively large number (4,593) were children under three years of age.

## CHILDREN'S ACT 1908

In connection with the customary returns from Boards of Guardians for January 1, 1912, some information was obtained as to the children in the workhouses on that day who had been received under the provisions of the Children Act, 1908. Section 108 of that act enables boards of guardians, subject to the consent of the local government board, to agree with the police authority for the use of the workhouse as a place of detention for children and young persons. It was found that the guardians of 12 unions had acted under these powers, and that the number of children shown as received was 37. Workhouses could also be used under other provisions of the same act as places of safety for children, and on 1st January, 1912, the number of children who had been taken to a workhouse or other institution as a place of safety was 117 and the number of unions whose workhouses were used for this purpose was 38.

Twenty and two-tenths per cent. per thousand of population of children under 16 years receive poor relief in England.

## TAKING CHILDREN OUT OF INSTITUTIONS

However, England is realizing that these general institutions and workhouses where thousands of children have been retained have in most cases given unsatisfactory results. They now seem to be working on the proved principle of their neighbor (Scotland) that children should not be kept in institutions except temporarily. As a poignant evidence of this the most recent Poor Law institution order issued January 1, 1914, contains the following:

"Article 4.—After the Thirty-first day of March, One thousand nine hundred and fifteen, a child shall not be retained in the institution for a period exceeding six weeks, unless

- (i) the child is an inmate of the sick wards; or
- (ii) the Medical Officer certifies in writing that, for medical reasons, the child should be so retained, or that, on account of an outbreak of infectious disease in the institution, or in the institution to which the child would have been sent by the Guardians, the transfer of the child should be postponed."

## NURSERIES

(*Institutions Order: Article 16 [1] and 24*)

The Order introduces two innovations which are designed to assist the Guardians in the discharge of their duties towards the infants under their care. The Medical Officer of the institution is required to examine each infant under 18 months once at least in every fortnight, and a separate record paper has to be kept for each such infant. In this way, it will be assured that any defects will be detected at an early stage and dealt with at once, and that a record will be available with regard to the progress of each infant.

The Order also provides that every child above the age of 18 months shall be examined by the Medical Officer at least once a month (Article 59 [2]). It must be remembered that no child over three years of age will be retained in the institution except temporarily or for special medical reasons.

Further, Article 31 (3) directs that an inmate shall not be employed in any capacity in the nursery unless approved for the particular employment by the medical officer and acting under the immediate supervision of a paid officer.

In this same order there is a new rule for

*Corporal Punishment*

"Article 42.—Corporal punishment shall not be inflicted except

- (a) on a male child under the age of fourteen years who is disorderly or refractory;
- (b) by the Master or an officer specially authorized by him for the particular occasion;
- (c) in the presence of at least two officers, of whom the Master shall be one;
- (d) with a rod or other instrument, such as shall have been approved by the Guardians or the House Committee; and
- (e) after the expiration of two hours from the commission of the offence for which the punishment is inflicted."

In discussing legislation relative to the widow and her children with Mr. T. Lawrence, staff officer of the poor law administration, who has had thirty-five years' experience in this department, and who is also a recognized authority on the subject, he thoroughly endorsed the plan of considering the widow and her children as in reality apart from the general poor relief system. He says their departments have been considering the question at various times, and he is also of the opinion that the claim of the child on the State under these circumstances is perhaps more important than any other, as he represents a large percentage of such future citizens. He believes they should be kept with their own mothers as much as possible, and should be eliminated from institutions. I am indebted to Mr. Lawrence for much of the information and statistics concerning England.

In 1910 Boards of Guardians received the following instruction relating to

*Widows with Children*

The giving of out-door relief to this class is, the Commissioners say, "a question which has to be considered very largely, if not mainly, from the point of view of the children. . . . The general feeling is strongly in favour of leaving the children of widows with mothers, on the twofold ground that the mother is the proper person to have charge of them, and that it is cheaper than either placing them in an institution or boarding them out. On the other hand it is maintained that, when deprived of her husband's help, it is by no means certain that a woman is capable of bringing up her children well, especially when she has to go out to work, or when there are boys in the family who need a strong control over them. With respect to the greater cheapness of out-relief, again, it is too often only another name for very inadequate relief, which does not permit of the children being properly clothed and nourished."

The Board concur in the opinion that in considering the question of relief in these cases the interests of the children must be always kept in view. The condition of any children whose parents are in receipt of out-door relief should be made the subject of special report by the relieving officer, and when case papers are made compulsory this will be required in all cases. The

Board hope shortly to issue a circular letter dealing fully with relief to children, but they deem it desirable now to emphasize the point that out-door relief should not be given to widows with children unless they and their children are living under proper conditions.

That the care of pauper children is being advocated more and more in their own homes or in that of proper guardians is also strongly emphasized by Miss Ina Stansfeld, who for many years has been a member of the Local Government Board, and who is at the head of their boarding-out system.

When I saw Miss Stansfeld in London, she urged me to recommend, by all means, State aid for widowed mothers with children. She believes that this is the first step in eradicating many of the evils that grow out of poor relief systems where worthy mothers are separated from their children, only because of poverty.

Miss Stansfeld is also of the opinion that a widow and her children should not be regarded as paupers in the commonly accepted sense. Further she believes, if properly launched, the State can so dignify such a law to the extent that a worthy mother might wear a badge or an insignia given to her by the State as a constant proof of her motherhood and a willingness to bring up her children in the best way possible with the aid of the State.

I herewith quote Miss Stansfeld's latest report on the boarding-out of pauper children, which speaks for itself. I believe many suggestions contained in it may be of use in the direction of taking children out of institutions and placing them with private families.

## POOR LAW ADMINISTRATION

### REPORT OF MISS INA STANSFELD

*Report of Miss INA STANSFELD (Superintendent Lady Inspector), on Boarding-Out of Pauper Children.*

#### The Development of the System of Boarding-Out

"On January 1, 1912, the Boarding-out Order, 1911, which consolidates the regulations formerly in force with regard to boarding-out came into operation, and the expiration of a year of administration under the new order offers an opportunity for a brief review of the history of boarding-out in England and Wales, and for an explanation of the system as it is now carried out.



"Until the year 1870 the boarding-out of children in private homes was not expressly recognised by any regulations of the central authority. It was regarded as being within the powers of guardians to place orphan or deserted children in private homes if the homes were within the union to which the children were chargeable, but the system was not in any way encouraged and was clearly not suitable for adoption in any except the rural union. It was not generally made use of to any considerable extent, and where this was the case it was usually the result of a local tradition of administration. The central authority were, however, aware of the advantages of the system when properly controlled, and were also informed that in some districts persons, not necessarily members of boards of guardians, were willing to devote themselves to the care and protection of children if machinery were devised whereby they could be sent to them from the urban unions. In 1869, with a view to the framing of new regulations, they directed their inspectors to report specially to them upon the practice of boarding-out within the union where this had been adopted. From these reports it appeared that children were relieved in this way only in twenty-one unions, the total number of children so boarded-out being 368. The inspectors also reported upon the condition of the children and the difficulties attending this form of relief, and the safeguards necessary for the protection of the children. At the same time the central authority obtained from their inspector, Mr. Henley, a special report upon boarding-out in Scotland, in which country the grant of relief in this form was far more common.

#### *The Special Inspectorate*

"In the earlier days of the movement no special arrangements were made for the inspection of the boarding-out, which, together with the inspection of relief of other kinds, remained a function of the general inspectors. As, however, the number of children in the case of the authorised committees increased, it appeared desirable that special arrangements should be made for their supervision, and Miss Mason was,

in 1885, appointed as lady inspector of boarding-out. In 1898 an additional lady inspector was appointed, and by 1902 there was a staff of three ladies, each having a district assigned to her. Since that date the staff has again been increased, and England and Wales are now divided into six districts, each with its own inspector, acting under my supervision. The work of the inspectors has been considerably increased by the addition of the duty of inspecting boarding-out within the union, *i. e.*, under the immediate supervision of the guardians to whom the boarded-out children are chargeable. The inspectors last appointed have, besides the charge of boarding-out in their districts, the duty of inspecting, when so required, the institutional relief of children and sick persons. The work of a boarding-out committee is thoroughly inspected periodically, and the inspectors are also in constant communication with the several committees in their district. The inspectors are expected to report upon the work of the committees, and in order to do this it has of course been necessary for a certain proportion of the children and homes under each committee to be carefully examined. It has never, however, been the policy of the Local Government Board that the inspectors should themselves undertake the responsibility which properly belongs to the local committees for the proper care of each boarded-out child. The inspectors have also to deal with a very large amount of correspondence in their capacity of guides and counsellors of the committees, who constantly come to them for advice on matters of difficulty.

#### *The Present Regulations*

“The Boarding-Out Order, 1911, consolidates, as has been said, the whole of the regulations as to boarding-out.

“Under the order, committees charged with the supervision of boarding-out may be of two kinds; such a committee may either be a voluntary body independent of any poor law authority and acting under an authorisation issued by the Local Government Board within a definite area fixed by that Board, or appointed by a Board of guardians and acting

either over the whole of the union for which it is appointed, or in a part of the union assigned to them by the board of guardians. So far as practicable, not more than one committee is allowed to act in any area.

"Any child eligible for boarding-out may be placed by a board of guardians under the care of a committee of either kind, whether it is placed within or beyond the union to which the child is chargeable, but children are not allowed to be boarded out in London. The practice of some unions of appointing a single children's committee to supervise both boarding-out and all other relief to children should here be mentioned. It appears to be very effective in securing good administration and will, I hope, be even more widely adopted in the future, for increased experience serves to confirm the conclusion that boarding-out can only be auxiliary to and can never entirely supersede other systems for bringing up children dependent on public funds.

"The Boarding-Out Order empowers the guardians to place under the care of a boarding-out committee children who have lost or been deserted by their parents (as defined in the order), and children whose parents' rights have been assumed by the guardians under the Poor Law Acts, 1889 and 1899. The guardians have also, under Article II (2) of the Relief Regulation Order, 1911, an absolute discretion as to the form of relief which may be given to a family in cases where relief is required on account of sickness, accident or infirmity, where the mother is a widow, and in the other cases there mentioned. If, however, they elect to grant outdoor relief to children apart from their parents, the Boarding-Out Order requires that these children also shall be regarded as boarded-out children, and that the safeguards provided by the order shall apply.

"In this way special precautions are taken for the care of all children who while in receipt of outdoor relief are deprived, even temporarily, of the care of their parents.

"A third leading point of the system of boarding-out as now regulated is the prominence given to the work of women, which has, of course, a peculiarly appropriate field in the

care of children and the selection and control of the homes in which they are placed. There has been a steady advance in this matter from the earliest days of boarding-out, and it is now required that one-third at least of every committee shall consist of women. There is also a requirement that a boarded-out child and its home shall be visited at least once in six weeks by a woman, who may be either a member of the boarding-out committee or a woman visitor. Visitors have already been appointed in 114 unions, and in some cases hold other appointments under the guardians of a like character, thus becoming whole-time officers. It is to be regretted that as yet there is in some areas some failure on the part of women members of boarding-out committees to appreciate the responsibilities of their position. There is, however, ground for the hope that when the new order has been in force a little longer, difficulties of this kind may disappear, and I trust that the statement of the principal points of the order, which I have endeavoured to set out, may make it easier to understand and may remove fears as to the difficulties of its administration from the minds of those who are unused to technical regulations. It appears not always to be understood that copies of the order can be obtained for members of committees, but it is clearly necessary that this should be done, and I hope in the future that I shall not hear of committees whose members have not even seen a copy.\*

*Boarding-out During the Year 1912*

"It remains briefly to sketch the progress made during the past year.

"The number of boarded-out children has increased from 10,447 to 11,397, 9,128 of the total number being boarded-out within the union and 2,269 beyond the union to which they are chargeable.

"The growth of the system since 1885 is shown by the following table:

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\* Copies of the order can be obtained from Messrs. Wyman & Sons, Fetter Lane, E. C., either directly or through any bookseller.

CHILDREN BOARDED OUT	1885. 1st July	1895. 1st Jan.	1905. 1st Jan.	1912. 1st Jan.	1913. 1st Jan.
a. Within union.....	1,774	3,778	6,814	8,453	9,128
b. Beyond union.....	1,025	1,794	1,806	1,904	2,269
Total.....	2,799	5,572	8,620	10,447	11,397

"Eighty-seven boards of guardians, as compared with 72 last year, abstain from boarding-out children; the increase of this number is no doubt connected with the greater provision of cottage homes for the children apart from the workhouse.

"Of the 641 boards of guardians in England and Wales, 505 have elected to administer boarding-out through appointed committees. 156 boards of guardians have entered into agreements with one or more independent boarding-out committees, and there are at the time of writing 204 committees of this kind.

"The number of committees appointed by the guardians has increased by fourteen; eight new independent committees have been authorized by the Board, and forty such committees have been removed from the register as a result of the amalgamation of independent committees in the same union and the absorption or replacement of independent committees by appointed committees.

"While it is pleasing to report that in the majority of cases the greatest care is exercised by boarding-out committees in the supervision of the children and of the homes in which they are placed, instances have been reported in which these important matters have hardly received sufficient attention. It should be borne in mind by the members of a boarding-out committee that they have a very real responsibility for the wellbeing of the children under their care, and that a conscientious foster-mother, who is really doing her best by the child, generally welcomes investigation and is ready to share the keen interest of the supervisor.

#### *Cross Visitation*

"There is still, especially on the part of the 'appointed' committees which have only recently come under inspection,

some tendency to regard the control of a foster home, or of all the foster homes in a given area, as being the peculiar charge of one member of the committee. In this manner the corporate responsibility of the committee for the whole of the children under their care tends to be obscured. It is most important that every home should from time to time be visited by more than one member.

#### *Medical-care*

"Much progress has been made in the securing of co-operation with the education authorities. One very useful form of this is to arrange for the sending to the boarding-out committee of a duplicate of the reports sent to the foster-parents by the school medical authorities.

"Miss Walton Evans reports that the school medical authorities of Devon and Hants have arranged to inspect the boarded-out children yearly, as a matter of routine, which is proving to be of the greatest assistance to the boarding-out committees and to the inspector.

"The secretary of an important 'beyond and within' union committee in Devonshire, writing to Miss Walton Evans, says:—

" 'With regard to the substitution of the school medical officer's yearly inspection of boarded-out children for the quarterly medical reports, we find it desirable that either the secretary or a member of the committee should be present at the examination, either with or without the foster-mother. We are in this way able to consult the school medical officer about any weakness or peculiarity that has been noticed during the year and is not in evidence at the time of the examination, and to receive verbal instructions about matters which are too slight to be made the subject of a formal notice. The schoolmasters and schoolmistresses are very obliging in sending the notices of the school medical officer's visits. I have been present at the inspection of twelve of our children during the past six months.'

"The inspectors report that increased attention is being given to the physical condition of boarded-out children, and

that at their instance some boards of guardians have during the past year sent delicate ones to convalescent homes. The change of air has brought most beneficial results.

#### *Dental Treatment*

"There is still some difficulty in securing proper dental treatment for the children, and in many districts it is rare for any treatment other than extraction to be allowed. The importance of conservative treatment is, however, becoming more widely recognised. Even on the lowest ground, that of economy, in the long run, this tendency is most welcome.

#### *Selection of Foster-homes*

"In comparatively few cases have the inspectors' reports during the year shown that a committee has neglected its duty of careful discrimination in the choosing of homes. Where fault can be found with the homes chosen, this is usually in the case of (a) children residing with relatives, who are frequently accepted as foster-parents on the ground that they are willing to take the child for less than the usual payments; or (b) 'adopted' children, some guardians being unwilling to place the child under the care of a committee in another area, though in this way its undesirable parents cannot follow it. In cases of children living with relatives, care should be taken, at the periodical revisions required by article 10 of the Boarding-out Order to see that the allowance made is sufficient to secure proper food, clothing and accommodation for the child. It would be, generally speaking, a sound rule that a child should not be placed in any home which was not independent of even the small profit that remains from the boarding-out allowance if the child is properly cared for.

"Miss Power reports that in some instances guardians have exceeded their legal powers in their anxiety to make use of boarding-out as the method of relieving children, and that not infrequently one or more deserted 'nurse' children have been found among the children under the supervision of boarding-out committees acting within the union.

"Some highly conscientious and energetic committees acting within the union of chargeability are in a position of difficulty in regard to foster homes which have been aptly termed 'legacies' from the period preceding the commencement of the order of 1909. In such homes there are sometimes grounds for complaint as to sleeping accommodation, cleanliness, condition of clothing and various other matters; on the other hand the foster parents profess profound attachment to the boarded-out children and the committee hesitate to urge the children's removal, although doubtless such a course would be to the children's moral and material advantage.

#### *Clothing Allowances*

"There is a tendency to raise to a more adequate level the allowances for clothing, which are supplementary to the weekly maintenance allowances, and the use of a sliding scale for these allowances, so warmly recommended by the Board's inspectors, is receiving wider recognition.

"Miss Walton Evans recommends the adoption of the following scale for clothing allowance:—

	s.	d.	
"Up to 7 years.....	7	6	per quarter (\$1.89).
7 to 12 „ .....	10	0	per quarter (\$2.50).
12 to 14 „ .....	12	6	per quarter (\$4.50).

"In unions where a sliding scale is in use, the most thrifty among the foster parents acknowledge its advantage. It must not be overlooked that, from an economic point of view, a board of guardians does not pay more under a graded clothing allowance than by paying the stereotyped 10s. a quarter for children of 3 years and upwards.

#### *Case Papers*

"The introduction of the boarding-out case paper, which is already in use in some unions, makes the supervisory work of boarding-out committees much more efficient.

"The local guardian is not now necessarily on the boarding-out committee, guardians change frequently, the relieving



officer may retire and leave the union, and hence, unless the detailed information about the child and its family is obtained at the outset, no record may be available to guide decisions as to the child's future when school age ends at 14 years. Miss Walton Evans reports the case of a clever highly-strung girl who having been boarded out was at fourteen years of age anxious to qualify as a teacher. Investigation of her family history revealed a strong family tendency to insanity which influenced her friends in the decision that a future should be selected for her which would not involve prolonged mental strain. This case illustrates the need for care and regard to the family history of a child on leaving school instead of depending on the physical and mental condition of the moment.

"The case paper should contain all information necessary for the guidance of supervisors, and it will be an advantage to have a record dealing with (1) the child; (2) the child's relations; (3) the foster-parents and their home; and to it should be attached duplicates of the medical reports, a summary of the school teachers' and of the visitors' reports during the years in which the child has been chargeable.

"This information is valuable, not only to those responsible for the care of the child, but as a record of the work of committees. Excellent forms of case papers for boarded-out children may be obtained from the poor law publishers.

#### *Insurance of Boarded-Out Children*

"Under the order of 1911, foster-parents are prohibited from holding any insurance policy which would benefit them in the case of the death of a boarded-out child. Guardians can pay for sickness, and funeral expenses in the event of the child's death, but no one interested in the children should be allowed to profit by their death. In some instances the Local Government Board have been approached by Boards of Guardians to relax this regulation prohibiting any insurance. It is true that in some cases where children who have been residing with their relatives over a considerable period, and have been insured by them, become recipients of board-

ing-out relief, some hardships may be caused by the compulsory surrender of the policies. The Board have, while adhering to the view that the general prohibition is in the interests of the children, expressed their willingness specially to consider cases where the insurance policy is of long standing and provides only for the return of the premium paid in the case of the child's death, or can be modified in this direction with the consent of the insurance company.

### *Conclusion*

" It would be impossible for me to close my report without expressing my sincere appreciation of the self-denying labours and the diligence of the large number of members of boarding-out committees, who in a spirit of patience and self-sacrifice are watching, and caring for day by day and year by year, these boarded-out children of the State. Members of boarding-out Committees have no excitement to spur them on, the very spirit of this system of relief is embodied by quiet, personal service to the child as an individual, together with a sympathetic study and understanding of its peculiar nature and needs; though much still remains to be done, especially among the appointed committees which, till 1910, were not inspected by the lady inspectors, a higher standard of boarding-out is being attained, and there is every ground for hope that the majority of the present generation of boarded-out children will develop into useful and efficient members of the State, and that they will become worthy citizens of the empire, whether in the home country or in the King's dominions beyond the seas.

INA STANSFELD,  
*Superintendent Lady Inspector.*

### AFTER CARE

" The question of the after care of boarded-out children has occupied a good deal of the time and attention of the Board's lady inspectors. The obvious difficulty of finding suitable occupations for boys on leaving school sometimes distracts atten-

tion from the equally serious problem of the after care of girls. It is more difficult to secure the retention of situations for girls placed in domestic service than to find them; although the latter is by no means an easy task, taking into consideration the youth and inexperience of the girls, and the scarcity of really suitable situations. For the first few years of her life in domestic service or other occupations the value to a poor law girl of systematic and sympathetic visitation cannot be over-estimated. A tactful visitor can plead for forbearance on the part of the girl's employer, and a wilful and headstrong girl can often be dealt with by such a visitor.

"The choice of occupations for boarded-out boys on leaving school is limited on the one hand by the openings at the disposal of the committee, and on the other hand by the attitude adopted by boards of guardians with regard to making subventions to initially small wages, and towards granting sums of money to defray the cost of outfits or repair and renewal of the boys' clothing for a year or two.

"If committees are absolutely to avoid 'blind alley' occupations for boys, it is in many districts impossible to find employment immediately after leaving school at which boys can earn to begin with a wage which covers the cost of board, lodging and clothing. The old system under which an indentured apprentice resided with his master's family has practically died out in many districts; in some counties it is, however, possible to place boys on small farms where they reside with their employer and his family; but it is important that such cases should be systematically visited by a competent person in order to ensure that the lad employed is properly fed, well treated and not overworked.

"Both with boys and girls, it must not be forgotten that the nature of employment and surroundings during the first two or three years after leaving school leave a profound effect on their character and physique.

"Many boards of guardians encourage the superintendents and matrons of their institutional homes to keep in touch with all who have passed out into the world. This is done very effectually in the case of the larger poor law schools through

the medium of such magazines as those issued by the authorities of the Kensington and Chelsea schools at Banstead, Surrey, and the sisters in charge of the North Hyde schools, Southall, Middlesex. Moreover, some boards of guardians adopt elaborate regulations with regard to the choice of situations for both boys and girls, the wages to be paid by the employer, and the visitation and inspection of the children in their situations. It is most important that all children leaving school and placed by guardians in situations should be in touch with some of the well-known philanthropic agencies, such as the Girls' Friendly Society, the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants, the Young Women's Christian Association, and for Roman Catholics such organizations as the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, the Children of Mary; for nonconformists there is the Free Church League. It should not be forgotten that all girls are eligible for membership of the Girls' Friendly Society, whether they belong to nonconformist bodies or to the Anglican Church. The utility of boys' clubs, boys' brigades, and boy scouts' organizations in co-operating with guardians in respect of after care is undeniable. Guardians should also co-operate with the Association for Befriending Boys wherever possible.

"The value of systematically kept records of the after histories of children who have left the immediate supervision of the guardians cannot be over-estimated, for guardians and committees are too apt to assume that 'no news is good news.'"

Miss Evans reports:—

"At Cromer recently, I was interested to find a retired army officer, Captain Palmes, had opened a workshop where he kept skilled workmen, and was taking boy pupils straight from school (who otherwise would have been golf caddies or newspaper sellers), and was giving them excellent training as cabinet makers, carpenters, etc., and starting them on a small wage at once. . . .

"A considerable number of apprenticeship charities are to be found up and down the country, and frequently the re-

ceipt of relief is not a disqualification under the trust deeds, but there is marked disinclination on the part of trustees to grant an apprenticeship charity where a child has only a "residential" as opposed to a birth qualification. Boards of guardians could, however, utilise these charities a great deal more than they do for children boarded-out within their unions.' "

" 'At present the boarding-out committees obtain for children boarded-out beyond the union of chargeability very fair employment, which enables the children to keep themselves respectable, and to save money. The trouble and expense incurred by many committees in dealing with and helping the children after they go to work are beyond praise, and whilst to board children out in rural districts causes the choice of employment to be limited, I am not certain that the making of friends and the removal from town temptations are not sufficient compensation.' "

Miss Power observes:—

" 'By no means all boards of guardians realise the advantages of emigration for children of both sexes who are healthy and normal. Some boarding-out committees, however, fully appreciate the value of emigration, in suitable cases, as a solution of the problem involved in guarding children from the influence of undesirable relatives.

" 'Some boys are sent to sea, either to training ships or the fishing trade at Grimsby. To any one at all familiar with the conditions of sea life, the prejudice deeply rooted in rustic minds in landlocked rural districts against a seafaring life seems unaccountable. In such circumstances pessimistic foster-parents may so effectually alarm a boy that he loses all desire to go to sea.

" 'In towns it is difficult to find places on leaving school for boys at remunerative wages, except in "blind alley" occupations. Girls generally are placed in domestic service, but in several towns it is impossible to persuade them to seek any but factory or workshop employment.

“ ‘ With regard to boarding-out beyond the union, it is quite exceptional for committees to make no attempt, when boarded-out children leave school, to find situations for them. In fact it is difficult to appreciate, as they deserve, the care and forethought, and in some cases also pecuniary assistance, given by committees to the problem of after-care.’ ”

“ Miss Lea, after recommending that each board of guardians should cause a definite plan of action regarding after care of poor law children to be drawn up to suit the requirements and possibilities of the individual locality states:—

“ ‘ The broad principle appears to be, to see that no child shall be left without a good friend, because he or she has ceased to be chargeable to the Union.’ ”

“ Miss Todd reports that in her district it has not been a general custom for committees appointed by the guardians to keep records of the after careers of boarded-out children who have passed out of their jurisdiction, and that guardians do not always realise that their responsibility does not cease when a child has completed its school attendances; cases are by no means uncommon, she adds, in which it is the practice to cease payments to foster-parents directly a child reaches the age of 14, and no further interest or notice is taken of the child, the supposition being that he or she has now reached a wage-earning age, and it is the business of the foster-parents to see to this. The general introduction of the case paper system will, she anticipates, inaugurate a new era in this respect. In the case of children boarded-out beyond the union, in almost 40 per cent. of the cases the secretary of the committee has kept notes showing where the children were when last heard of. Miss Todd remarks that, generally speaking, girls when sent out to service become at once self-supporting, and are early lost sight of; boys, on the other hand, when first apprenticed or sent to agricultural work do not at first earn both board and lodging and a wage. As it is necessary to supplement their wages, the committee have them under observation until they are able to support themselves — some two or three years.

" With regard to children in poor law institutions, Miss Todd reports the adoption, in almost all the poor law institutions which she visited, of after care registers and systematic visitation of children in service.

" Miss Todd adds:—

" ' There can be no doubt that speaking generally more trouble has been displayed by guardians in finding suitable situations and in keeping up a certain amount of interest in the after care of the children from these institutions than has been the case hitherto with those boarded-out.'

" Miss Jones reports that the majority of boys boarded-out within the unions in her district are with relatives, and therefore the foster-parents assume a degree of responsibility as to the placing of boys in trades and occupations to begin wage earning.

" She adds:—

" ' In the case of boys boarded-out with persons who are not relatives, the guardians in all unions as a rule keep an oversight of the boys until the age of 18, the foster-parents cooperating in the search for suitable occupation.'

" Miss Jones also reports that after care is organized to a certain degree in more than 20 unions in her district. The occupations at which boys find employment seem chiefly (in order of frequency) in Miss Jones' district to be farm labour and employment in collieries; and, in addition to various other occupations, boys in some unions obtain employment in quarries and woolen factories."

" Miss Jones adds:—

" ' With respect to girls, it is noticeable that lady guardians and lady members of boarding out committees, with few exceptions, favour domestic service.' "

As regards boarding-out generally, the year 1911 has been necessarily a period of transition owing to the expectation of the issue of a new Order modifying the regulations previously in force. The

reports of the lady inspectors, nevertheless, afford indication of progress on the part of boards of guardians and the committees appointed by them.

The Boarding-out Order, 1911, which came into force on 1st January, 1912, should afford to guardians and committees additional facilities for securing the welfare of children boarded-out under the poor law.

I have, &c.,

INA STANSFELD,

*Superintendent Lady Inspector.*

Following are the latest forms for boarded-out children adopted October 16, 1911, and in effect 1912.

#### FORM No. 1

*Engagement by persons proposed to be constituted a Boarding-out Committee under sub-division (2) of Article III, of the Boarding-out Order, 1911.*

WE, the undersigned, being desirous of being constituted a Boarding-out Committee for the purpose of finding and superintending homes within the area specified below, for such children as may be boarded-out by a Board or Boards of Guardians under the provisions of the Boarding-out Order, 1911, do hereby engage that, in the event of our obtaining the requisite authority of the Local Government Board to act as a Boarding-out Committee, we will truly and faithfully observe the Regulations which are prescribed in the said Order, or which may from time to time be prescribed by the Local Government Board with respect to the Boarding-out of Pauper Children.

And we do also hereby undertake to furnish to the Local Government Board, or to any of the Inspectors of that Board, when so required, all reasonable information respecting the proceedings of the Committee and the children who may be boarded-out under the superintendence of the Committee. We further undertake that all records or reports kept by or made to the Boarding-out Committee shall at all times be open to inspection by any of the officers of the said Board.

And we do also engage that meetings of the Committee shall be held not less often than once in every period of three months on days to be fixed by the Members of the Committee at the first meeting in each year, the days and place of meeting to be subject to such alterations as may be agreed upon at one of the ordinary meetings of the Committee after due notice to every member, and further that a book shall be kept containing a record of the proceedings at each meeting, and that the minutes of the last meeting shall be read at the next succeeding meeting and signed by the presiding Chairman, who shall be a member of the Committee other than the person appointed to act as Secretary.



## AREA OF ACTION OF COMMITTEE

Parish, Parishes, or parts thereof of which Area consists	Union comprising Parishes	County

Signatures in full	Rank, Profession, or Calling *	Addresses

Dated this.....day of....., 19

To the Secretary,  
Local Government Board,  
Whitehall, London, S. W

## FORM No. 2.

*Engagement by proposed additional or substituted Members of a Boarding-out Committee constituted under subdivision (2) of Article III, of the Boarding-out Order, 1911.*

I (or We), the undersigned, being desirous of becoming (a) Member(s) of the Boarding-out Committee formed for the purpose of finding and superintending homes within the area specified below, for such children as may be boarded-out by a Board or Boards of Guardians under the provisions of the Boarding-out Order, 1911, do hereby engage that ..... will truly and faithfully observe the regulations which are prescribed in the said order, or which may from time to time be prescribed by the Local Government Board with respect to the boarding-out of pauper children.

And ....., do also hereby undertake to furnish to the Local Government Board, or to any of the Inspectors of that Board, when so required, all reasonable information respecting the proceedings of the Boarding-out Committee and the children who may be boarded-out under the superintendence of the Boarding-out Committee. .... further undertake, in conjunction with the other members of the Committee, that all records or reports kept by or made to the Boarding-out Committee shall at all times be open to inspection by any of the officers of the said Board.

\* In the case of any woman having no calling or profession of her own, the rank, profession, or calling of her husband or father should be entered in this column thus:—

Wife, widow, or daughter of a.....

COMMISSION ON RELIEF FOR WIDOWED MOTHERS 321

AREA OF ACTION OF COMMITTEE

Parish, Parishes, or parts thereof of which Area consists	Union comprising Parishes	County

Signatures in full	Rank, Profession, or Calling *	Addresses

Dated this ..... day of ....., 19  
To the Secretary,  
Local Government Board,  
Whitehall, London, S. W.

FORM No. 3

.....BOARDING-OUT COMMITTEE.

*Statement to be sent to the Local Government Board showing the names and  
addresses of the Members of the above Committee on the 1st July, 19...*

NAMES †	Addresses

.....  
*Secretary of Committee.*

\* In the case of any woman having no calling or profession of her own, the rank, profession, or calling of her husband or father should be entered in this column thus:—

Wife, widow, or daughter of a .....

† It will be convenient if the names are arranged in alphabetical order.

## FORM No. 4

*To the Secretary, Local Government Board, Whitehall, London, S. W.*

Date.....

Agreement entered into between The Boarding-out Committee of \_\_\_\_\_  
in the County ..... constituted under subdivision (2) of article  
III of the Boarding-out Order, 1911, for the purpose of finding and super-  
intending homes for pauper children with the ..... parishes.....,  
in the Count of ..... (hereinafter called the "Commit-  
tee"), of the one part and The Board of Guardians of .....  
in the Count of ..... (hereinafter called the "Guardians"),  
of the other part.

We, the Committee, do hereby agree with the Guardians as follows:

That we will undertake to find homes and foster-parents for children to be sent to us by the guardians, and for so many more children as may hereafter with the approval of the Local Government Board, be agreed upon between ourselves and the guardians:

That we will cause each of the children placed with the said foster-parents and its home to be visited not less often than once in every six weeks by at least one member of the Committee, unless the child and its home are so visited by a visitor especially appointed by the guardians, and will send a report to the guardians of the apparent bodily condition and behavior of each child visited by a member of the Committee, of the condition of the home, and of all complaints made by or concerning the child against or by the foster-parents, not less often than once a quarter:

That a member of the Committee shall from time to time duly inspect the clothing of the Child and shall ascertain whether the quarterly sum allowed by the guardians for the repair and renewal of the said clothing is properly expended unless these duties are performed by a visitor specially appointed by the guardians:

\* That we will make arrangements with a duly qualified medical practitioner for attendance upon the said children in case of sickness, for the supply of the necessary medicines, and for the periodical examination of each of the said children as often as may be necessary:

\* That we will also make arrangements with a duly qualified dentist for the care of the children's teeth:

That, in case at any time any of the said children should die, we will cause the deceased child to be decently and properly buried:

That we will truly and faithfully observe in all respects such rules and conditions as are set forth in the Boarding-out Order, 1911, and such other provisions of that order as are applicable to the Boarding-out Committee and to their execution of that Order, and all regulations from time to time prescribed by the Local Government Board with respect to the boarding-out of pauper children:

That we will, upon the demand of the clerk to the guardians or of a person duly authorized in writing by the guardians, give up possession of any of the said children who may be under our custody or control.

\* These clauses may be omitted if suitable arrangements are otherwise made to the satisfaction of the guardians.

And we, the guardians, do hereby on our part undertake and agree with the Committee as follows:

That, when suitable homes and foster-parents have been found for the said children, and the undertaking required by article VII, No. (7), of the Boarding-out Order, 1911, to be signed by the foster-parents before receiving any child shall, in the case of each child, have been forwarded to us by the Committee, we will provide every such child with a proper outfit of clothing and the Committee shall be authorized, in the case of every such child, to make on our behalf the following payments; namely:

(a) The sum [*not exceeding* [                      ] *shillings*] inserted in the said undertaking as the amount to be paid for the weekly maintenance of the said child.\*

(b) A sum not exceeding.....per quarter for the repair and renewal of the child's clothing.

(c) A sum, not exceeding one penny per week, to be paid as a remuneration to the schoolmaster of the school at which the child attends, for drawing up and sending the quarterly report upon the said child as prescribed by the Boarding-out Order, 1911.

That we will defray the reasonable cost of provision by the Committee of medical or dental treatment in respect of any child boarded-out by us under their superintendence, the cost (if any) of providing such extra nourishment or medical or surgical appliance for a child in case of sickness as shall have been ordered by the medical practitioner and certified by a member of the Committee, and also the cost of the examination of any such child in pursuance of any arrangement made by the Committee in pursuance of Article IX of the Boarding-out Order, 1911.†

That in consideration of the Committee undertaking that, in case any of the said children at any time while boarded-out as aforesaid should die, the Committee will cause every child so dying to be decently and properly buried, we will pay to the Committee, if the child so dying were not more than ten years of age at the time of death, such sum not exceeding twenty-five shillings, and if the child were more than ten years of age at the time of death, such sum not exceeding forty shillings, as has been disbursed by the Committee for burial purposes.

That we will remit quarterly to the Committee the sum of money required to reimburse them all moneys expended and payments made as aforesaid on our behalf and a sum of one penny per week for each child, to meet other expenses incurred by the Committee in respect of the child. Provided, that where we advance a sum to the Committee under the provisions of the Boarding-out Order, 1911, the amount so advanced shall be taken into account in making the remittance aforesaid.

And it is hereby mutually agreed that an account of moneys received by the Committee and of their disbursements shall be kept: that such account shall be made up and balanced to the 31st March, the 30th June, the 30th September, and the 31st December in each year, and be signed by

\*This clause should be omitted unless the Local Government Board direct that the payment may be made by the Committee.

†This clause should be omitted if the preceding clauses marked \* are omitted.

the Chairman or the Secretary of the Committee, and be transmitted to the guardians within ten days after each of those dates: and that receipted vouchers shall be attached to the account as made up for each quarter for all payments in respect of medical or dental attendance and medicines, extra nourishment, medical or surgical appliances provided by the Committee under the terms of this agreement, and for burial expenses.

And we, the guardians, do hereby further agree with the Committee, that if any child shall at any time after being placed with a foster-parent be found to be suffering from any incurable bodily disease, or from lunacy, or shall in the judgment of the Committee be incorrigible and of confirmed bad habits, we will in every such case, upon the same being duly signified to us, cause the said child to be removed from the home wherein it may be boarded-out as aforesaid, and to be conveyed at our expense to a suitable institution.

In witness whereof the presiding chairman and secretary of the Committee have hereunto set their hands, this ..... day of ....., 19...., and the guardians their common seal, this ..... day of ..... 19....

Signatures of the presiding chairman and secretary of the Committee.

The common seal of the guardians was hereunto affixed at a meeting of the board of guardians held on the day last aforesaid, by  
[L. S.] ....., chairman of the board at the said meeting, in the presence of ....., the clerk of the guardians.

#### FORM No. 5—POOR LAW UNION

*Return of the Children chargeable to the Union and boarded-out in Homes either with or beyond the limits of the Union on the 1st day of January, 19 .*

Name of child	Age	Name of foster-parent	Address of foster-parent	Boarding-out committee under whose superintendence the child is boarded-out
1	2	3	4	5

.....Clerk to the Guardians.

.....Date.

Note.—If no children are boarded out at the date to which the return relates the word "Nil" should be written across the return.

FORM No. 6

*Return to the Local Government Board of the Children boarded-out under the supervision of the ..... Boarding-Out Committee on the 1st day of July, 19 , with the Names and Addresses of the Foster-Parents.*

Name of child	Age	Name and address of foster-parent	Poor Law Union to which chargeable

(Signed) .....  
*Secretary of the Boarding-out Committee.*  
 (Address) .....

Date .....

To the Secretary,  
 Local Government Board,  
 Whitehall, London, S. W.

Note.—If no children are boarded out under the supervision of the Committee on the date to which the Return relates the word “Nil” should be written across the Return.

FORM No. 7

.....Poor Law Union.

I, the undersigned, having this day personally examined C. D., aged ..... years reading at ....., hereby certify that ..he is not suffering from any contagious or infectious disease, and that h.... bodily health and mental condition is good [with the exception that\* .....], and that, in my opinion, the case is in all respects suitable for the administration of relief by boarding-out.

(Signed) .....  
 A medical officer of the above-named  
 Poor Law Union.

Dated this ..... day of ..... 19....

FORM No. 8

*Undertaking of Foster-Parent.*

..... Poor Law Union.  
 ..... Boarding-out Committee.  
 ..... Name of child.  
 ..... Name of Foster-Parent.

I, A.B., of ..... do hereby engage with the guardians of the above-named Poor Law Union, in consideration of my receiving the sum of ..... per week, to bring up C.D., aged ..... years on the

\* Here state the particulars of any exceptions.

..... day of ..... last, as one of my own children, and to provide h.... with proper food, lodging, and washing, and to endeavor to train h.... in habits of truthfulness, obedience, personal cleanliness, and industry; to take care that the child shall duly attend at church [or chapel] and school; that, in consideration of my receiving the sum of ..... per quarter, I will provide for the proper repair and renewal of the child's clothing; that, in case of the child's illness, I will forthwith report the illness to the above-named boarding-out committee; and that I will at all times permit the child to be examined and the home and the child's clothing to be inspected by an inspector of the local government board, by a member of the boarding-out committee, or by any person authorized for that purpose by the guardians, by the Boarding-out Committee, or by the local government board. I do also hereby engage, upon the demand of the clerk to the guardians or of a person duly authorized in writing by the guardians, or by the Boarding-out Committee, to give up possession of the child.

†

Dated this ..... day of ..... 19....

.....Signature (in full) of Foster-Parent.

.....Address of Foster-Parent.

.....Witness to the signature of the Foster-Parent.

.....Address of Witness.

N. B. Communications to the Guardians to be addressed.....

## FORM No. 9

.....Poor Law Union.

I, A.B., of ....., hereby acknowledge that I have this day received, C. D., aged ..... years, from the guardians of the poor of the above-named Poor Law Union, on the terms and conditions contained in the annexed undertaking; and that I have also received for the use of the said C.D. the articles of clothing set out in the list appended hereto.

Dated this ..... day of ..... 19....

(Signed).....

Address .....

(Witness) .....

Address of Witness.....

## LIST OF CLOTHING

(Here set out the Articles in detail.)

## FORM No. 10

To the ..... Boarding-out Committee:

Report by (a) member of the said Committee, or

(b) appointed visitor with respect to.....

aged ..... year, boarded-out with.....

at .....

\* Insert "church" or "chapel" according to the religious creed to which the child belongs.

† Any other matter which may be agreed upon may here be added.

1. Date of visit and of last previous visit.
2. Was the child's condition satisfactory?
3. Were you satisfied with the home training and influences?
4. Did you find the home satisfactory?
5. What was the sleeping accommodation?
6. Were any complaints made?
7. Other remarks, if any.

*Signature of Committee Member or Appointed Visitor.*

*Date*.....

Note.—In noting the child's condition, attention should be paid to questions affecting health, feeding, clothing and cleanliness; and in determining whether the home is satisfactory, regard should be had to its cleanliness, order and general surroundings, and specially to the adequacy and decency of the accommodation, particularly in the sleeping-rooms.

FORM No. 11.

*Report for the Quarter ending*.....

.....SCHOOL.

Name of child	Age	Name and address of foster-parent	Number of times school open during the quarter	Attendances missed during the quarter	Alleged causes of absence	Standard or standards in which child is now working	Observations as to appearance, conduct and progress of child, and any other remarks

*(Signature)*.....

*(Address)*.....

*(Date)*.....

Note.—This report may be arranged in any other manner which may be deemed more convenient; provided that all the particulars above mentioned be included in it.

[L. S.]

JOHN BURNS,  
*President.*

Given under the seal of office of the local government board, this sixteenth day of October, in the year one thousand nine hundred and eleven.

H. C. MONRO,  
*Secretary*



## MEALS PROVIDED IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Also further interest in the dependent child is being directed in the public schools. By the Education Act of 1906 the school boards are empowered to provide meals for necessitous and other children.

The act reads as follows:

**An Act to make provision for meals for children attending public elementary schools in England and Wales.** [21st December, 1906]

BE it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

**Power of local education authority to aid school canteen committees in the provision of meals for children**

1. A local education authority may take such steps as they think fit for the provision of meals for children in attendance at any public elementary school in their area, and for that purpose —

- (a) may associate with themselves any committee on which the authority are represented, who will undertake to provide food for those children (in this Act called a "school canteen committee"); and
- (b) may aid that committee by furnishing such land, buildings, furniture, and apparatus, and such officers and servants as may be necessary for the organization, preparation and service of such meals; but, save as herein-after provided, the authority shall not incur any expense in respect of the purchase of food to be supplied at such meals. (2 Edw. 7. c. 42.)

**Recovery of the cost of meals**

2. (1) There shall be charged to the parent of every child in respect of every meal furnished to that child under this Act such an amount as may be determined by the local education authority, and, in the event of payment not being made by the parent, it shall be the duty of the authority, unless they are satisfied that the parent is unable by reason of circumstances other than his own default to pay the amount, to require the payment of that amount from that parent, and any such amount may be recovered summarily as a civil debt.

[Price,  $\frac{1}{2}$ d.]

(2) The local education authority shall pay over to the school canteen committee so much of any money paid to them by, or recovered from, any parent as may be determined by the authority to represent the cost of the food furnished by the committee to the child of that parent, less a reasonable deduction in respect of the expenses of recovering the same.

**Power of local education authority to defray the cost of food in certain cases**

3. Where the local education authority resolve that any of the children attending an elementary school within their area are unable by reason of

lack of food to take full advantage of the education provided for them, and have ascertained that funds other than public funds are not available or are insufficient in amount to defray the cost of food furnished in meals under this Act, they may apply to the Board of Education, and that Board may authorize them to spend out of the rate such sum as will meet the cost of the provision of such food, provided that the total amount expended by a local education authority for the purposes of this section in any local financial year shall not exceed the amount which would be produced by a rate of one halfpenny in the pound over the area of the authority, or, where the authority is a county council (other than the London County Council), over the area of the parish or parishes which in the opinion of the council are served by the school.

#### Provisions as to disfranchisement

4. The provision of any meal under this Act to a child and the failure on the part of the parent to pay any amount demanded under this Act in respect of a meal shall not deprive the parent of any franchise, right or privilege, or subject him to any disability.

#### Application of Education Acts

5. (1) The powers of a local education authority under this Act shall be deemed to be powers of that authority under the Education Acts, 1870 to 1903, and the provisions of those Acts as to the manner in which the expenses of a local education authority are to be charged and defrayed, and as to borrowing, and as to the manner in which the amount which would be produced by any rate in the pound is to be estimated, shall apply to expenses incurred and money borrowed under this Act, and to the estimate of the produce of any rate in the pound for the purposes of this Act.

(2) Any expression to which a special meaning is attached in the Education Acts, 1870 to 1903, shall have the same meaning in this Act, except that for the purposes of this Act the expression "child" shall, notwithstanding anything in section forty-eight of the Elementary Education Act, 1876, include any child in attendance at a public elementary school. (39 and 40 Vict. c. 79.)

#### Provision as to teachers

6. No teacher seeking employment or employed in a public elementary school shall be required as part of his duties to supervise or assist, or to abstain from supervising or assisting, in the provisions of meals or in the collection of the cost thereof.

#### Extent of Act

7. This Act shall not apply to Scotland.

#### Short title

8. This Act may be cited as the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906.

Mr. H. A. Leggett of the local government board for sixteen years in the poor law administration department has perhaps studied this question more thoroughly than any other member

of the board. He stated to me that he believes the widow is particularly benefited with this innovation of serving the children with their meals in school. Following are some of his findings on this subject:

#### GENERAL REMARKS

Local education authorities pursue different methods, and are influenced by different considerations in the selection of children for meals; "a poverty scale," varying from about \$.50 to \$.75 per head, has been adopted by many authorities as a general guide, which points to economic considerations being, on the whole, the dominating factor in determining the selection, but considerable importance is attached by some authorities to medical considerations as well.

The best illustration of the selection of children on a medical basis is afforded by the system in force in Brighton, and it is of interest to note that at Manchester, during 1907-08, the issue of tickets for meals was supervised by the school medical officer, who made a personal examination of over 2,000 children during this period.

The functions of the head teachers are, as a rule, limited to the recommendation of children for meals, the final decision as to whether or not children shall be placed on the feeding list being in the hands of the canteen committee or of the director of education, but two exceptions to this practice should be noted. In Kingston-on-Hull the responsibility for the final selection of children is left entirely to the head teachers, while in Derby a rule has been laid down that all applications for free meals must come direct from the parents, which has resulted in a diminution of about 75 per cent. in the number of cases dealt with.

Generally it may be said that, with some exception, local education authorities make no differentiation, in regard to the provision of meals, between poor law children and other children whom they deem to be necessitous or underfed, and poor law children are selected for meals on the same principles, and their case subjected to the same tests or inquiries as are made in other cases. In the county borough of Derby, however, such children

are automatically placed on the feeding list without any inquiry whatever, while at Nottingham, Norwich and Cardiff, meals are not given to children while their parents are in receipt of relief.

Relief, adequate in amount and appropriate to the circumstances of the case, might, for instance, be given to a widow with one or more children of school age, but she may be engaged in some work which, by necessitating her absence from home at certain hours of the day, would make it impossible for her to prepare the children's meals. In such cases the meals provided by the education authority would be a real boon to the children, and to withdraw them from the feeding list seems, on the whole, undesirable.

Similarly, when out-relief is given for a short period on account of sickness or some other purely temporary cause, it seems questionable whether the children should be refused free meals during the short period for which the relief is required.

There is one other class of case to which attention should be drawn. It is the practice of some guardians, instead of giving out-relief to widows and children, to take one or two of the children into their schools. The children remaining at home, and who attend the elementary schools are children whose parents are in receipt of relief, but it seems open to doubt whether they should be refused free meals on this ground.

On the other hand, the education authority may not unfairly allege that the guardians have failed to deal with the circumstances of the family in an adequate and appropriate manner.

#### LONDON COUNTY

Population, 4,536,272.

Ratable value, \$218,085,758.58. (1910.)

Produce of \$.01 rate, \$454,269.06. (1910.)

#### A. SCHOOL FEEDING 1907-1909

The provision of food for necessitous school children did not become a charge on the rates until January, 1909, the county council having decided in July, 1907, to make no use of the power

given to them by the act of 1906 to provide the cost of food by imposing a rate for that purpose.

Their powers, however, in regard to the provision of equipment and service for meals were at once put into operation; the duty of administering the act was entrusted to a subcommittee of the education committee called the subcommittee on underfed children, which took the place of the previous joint committee, the relief subcommittees were reorganized under the name of Children's Care committees, the clerical department was strengthened, and a staff of organizers and assistant organizers was appointed.

The necessary funds were not lacking; a special appeal brought in \$58,320, while, in addition, there were the ordinary sources of revenue which amounted to about \$48,600. Thus the food fund was more than doubled and could be devoted to the provision of food alone, equipment and service being now provided by the education committee.

The "necessitous" cases found were very large in number, and, as the following figures show, both the number of schools in which meals were supplied and the number of children fed, mark a striking increase:

The increase in the number of meals provided was not accompanied by a corresponding increase in voluntary subscriptions. On the contrary, this source of revenue began to contract, a special appeal made in the winter of 1908 only realizing \$29,160.

SEASON	Number of schools in which meals were provided	AVERAGE WEEKLY NUMBER OF CHILDREN FED AND MEALS PROVIDED	
		Children	Meals
1905-1906 .....	264	27,159	72,714
1906-1907 .....	290	29,334	74,423
1907-1908 .....	531	37,979	143,962
1908-1909 .....	697	39,632	166,766

The increasing number of applications for school dinners received during the early part of the winter of 1908-09 caused such a serious drain on the voluntary funds, that the county coun-

cil decided, in December, 1908, to apply to the board of education for sanction to impose a rate for the purpose of the provision of food. Sanction was given to the raising of a half-penny rate, and the feeding of children became a charge upon public funds from January, 1909.

# DUTIES OF LOCAL ASSOCIATION AND CARE (SCHOOL) COMMITTEES

*Local Associations.*— The main duties of the local associations in regard to the feeding of school children are to collect such voluntary contributions as are made for this purpose, to disburse advances made by the county council, to arrange and manage the feeding centers, to discuss and co-ordinate the methods adopted by the various care (school) committees in their district for the selection of necessitous children, and to report to the central sub-committee, where thought desirable, on matters dealt with or considered by them.

*Care (School) Committees.*— A definite scheme was adopted by the council to be followed by the care committee in selecting children for meals. Under this scheme children considered to be in need of food were to be placed on a feeding list by the head teacher of the school, who was required to send the children's names to the secretary of the committee. The committee (who as a rule meet fortnightly) were then to decide, after some personal inquiry at the home or an interview with the child's parent or guardian, whether a child shall be placed or remain on the feeding list, and for what period, not exceeding one month. Cases of difficulty were to be referred to the divisional superintendent.

## YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1911

Number of children fed during "maximum" week (ended February 11, 1911).....	49,983
Number of children fed during "minimum" week (ended August 26, 1910).....	30,106
Average number of children fed during forty-three weeks of current financial year (from April 1, 1910) . . . . .	41,333

Average weekly number of meals a child.....	4.9
Total number of meals given.....	8,643,930
Average cost per meal:	
Food.....	1.6d.
Preparation and service.....	0.4d.
	<hr/> 2.0d.
Amount included in annual maintenance votes for 1910-11 .....	£88,092
Amount included in annual maintenance votes for 1911-12 .....	£89,545 (\$440,000)

"It will be observed that the year ended March 31, 1911, shows a considerable increase both in the number of meals provided and in the amount included in the annual maintenance vote for the preceding year, but that the estimate for the coming financial years shows practically no increase. At the same time it cannot escape notice that improved trade conditions of the last eighteen months do not appear to have had an appreciable effect in reducing the number of children who are fed at the public expense, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that during the next cycle of trade depression the education committee will be faced with an increased demand for free meals and a consequent large increase of expenditure.

#### "POOR LAW CHILDREN

"In defining the work and duties of the care committees, specific reference was made by the council to the care of necessitous children whose parents were in receipt of poor law relief, and an instruction was given to the committees that in all such cases the guardians should be approached 'with a view to their considering whether the relief afforded to the parents should be augmented.'"

#### SUMMARY (LONDON)

"It seems clear that the conditions in London must necessarily present difficulties greater in degree and more peculiar in character

than those which prevail elsewhere. Special attention was drawn by the inter-departmental committee to the difficulties attendant upon the question in the days when school feeding was undertaken on a voluntary basis, and they pointed out that "in this as in many other matters, the vastness of London, its unfortunate lack of a spirit of real local interest, and the ignorance which every Londoner shows of what is going on close to his own door, make the effective organisation of a proper system for feeding school children a matter of exceeding difficulty."

"Now that the work has been undertaken by the education authority some at least of the former difficulties should have disappeared. A definite organization has been created, and the work can be carried on upon a systematic basis unhampered by any uncertainty as to funds, while detailed instructions have been laid down for the guidance of care committees in dealing with the cases which come before them.

"But with the recourse in public funds has come a large, and perhaps inevitable, increase in the volume of work to be done, while the question of adequate investigation and proper selection remains, as before, dependent more upon the personnel of the various committees responsible for the work than upon any fixed and well-defined principle.

"A difficulty, which did not previously exist, has now arisen in regard to the relations between the education authority and the poor law authorities as to the treatment of those children who are receiving free meals from one authority while their parents are in receipt of relief from the other. This difficulty is not peculiar to London, but is intensified there by the fact that there are thirty-one boards of guardians in the county, differing widely in their resources, their personnel, the problems of poverty with which they have to deal, and in their methods of the administration of relief.

"The education authority, on the other hand, act for the whole of London, and can, as far as possible, consider their problem as a whole, with a view to the formulation of rules, regulations, and instructions of general application. But however perfect may be the scheme adopted and the principles promulgated by the central authority, the success or failure of any such scheme must



largely depend upon the care committees who are entrusted with the actual work of investigation and selection.

"There are in London about one thousand care committees, and it is inevitable that there should be a considerable divergence of practice on the part of these bodies in the selection of children for meals, and also in their views as to the desirability or otherwise of co-operation with the guardians.

#### SCHOOL LUNCHES IN THE UNITED STATES

The school lunch system is strongly entrenched in our own schools, although its inception is practically new, and at this point I believe it noteworthy for comparison to present the report of Dr. William H. Maxwell, superintendent of the public schools of New York City, for 1913 on this matter, as well as the very recent one of Edward F. Brown, superintendent, Bureau of Welfare of School Children, New York Association for Improving the Conditions of the Poor. These follow respectively.

"Though only a little over one-third of the children in the public schools were examined last year by the physicians of the department of health, to discover physical defects, very nearly 10,000 children were found to be suffering from malnutrition. Malnutrition may arise either from lack of food, or from defects in the quality or preparation of the food consumed. The latter is probably the cause in the majority of cases. Whatever the cause, it is only too evident that the child who is suffering from malnutrition cannot pay attention, cannot learn to study, is not a fit subject for the educative process. Hence arises the necessity for supplying wholesome food within the school building in our congested neighborhoods, on which the pupils may expend the pennies given them for lunch, rather than on the wretched pickles, candy, and cake with which they are tempted in the streets.

"Some three years ago the New York School Lunch Committee was organized by some philanthropic ladies for the purpose of making an experiment in supplying wholesome lunches at cost price to our school children.

"It is not to be expected that the School Lunch Committee, composed of ladies who have no official connection with the

schools, will continue to give their time and energy to this work; still less, that they will continue to meet an annual deficit. I submit, however, that they have done enough to demonstrate both the utility and the feasibility of supplying wholesome lunches at cost price to school children.

"I definitely recommend that such a system be organized. The cost may be materially reduced by utilizing our teachers of cooking for at least a part of the work. It may even be possible to use the services of our girl pupils in the upper grades in the cooking classes. In many of our high schools food is supplied by caterers who have obtained the privilege from the Board and who make considerable profit from the service. In my judgment this plan is fundamentally wrong. Food, if furnished in schools at all, should be furnished at cost price."

## INTRODUCTION

BY EDWARD F. BROWN

The New York School Lunch Committee was formed in the spring of 1909. A small group of interested people, under the guidance of its present chairman, convened to discuss the need of feeding children at school. The records of these pioneer gatherings are replete with interest. Notwithstanding the uncertainty and confusion that attend the initial steps of every movement, certain definite principles were established which have survived and are as sound and useful now as when first adopted.

These principles expressed as objects of the Committee's action were:

1. The provision of nourishing lunches on a self-supporting basis to all school children.
2. Special observation of children whose physical condition is such as to give evidence of lack of proper nourishment, in order to determine the underlying causes by a study of their homes and environment. An extension of this aim requires that these selected cases be followed up to the end that the proper agency may be apprised and appropriate action taken.
3. The formation of special classes of mothers for instruction in the proper care of children, especially in cases of poor nourishment.

After six years of experimentation the Committee reached the fullest development possible under a method of voluntary contribution and effort. The call upon a generous public for the support of other forms of social reconstruction made the reduction or expansion of funds a constant and dangerous possibility. The Committee was fearful of being confronted with an army of children accustomed to its service, without possibility of relief. Accordingly it determined to disband for lack of funds. This decision attracted the attention of Mrs. Elizabeth Milbank Anderson, who at the time was planning her gift to the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor for the establishment of a Department of Social Welfare, to "foster the preventive and constructive social measures \* \* \* as distinguished from relief measures." It was then decided that the Committee should become an associated activity with the Bureau of Welfare of School Children of the newly formed Department of Social Welfare. In her letter of gift Mrs. Anderson said:

"I would expect the admirable work for some years past conducted by the School Lunch Committee (which I am informed is about to disband) would be broadened and continued under the supervision of your Association. I would wish, however, to have this feature of the work broadened when placed under your control so that it would furnish lunches to the children of a group of approximately fourteen public schools to be selected with the idea of benefiting those most sorely in need of proper nourishment and at the same time with a view to improving upon the methods heretofore employed by establishing one or more central kitchens from which the lunches would be conveyed in wagons to the various schools."

#### *Theory of School Lunches*

Broadly classified, there are two methods in vogue representing the public feeding of elementary school children. They are: The English system of providing free breakfasts for the necessitous, and the custom represented by the activities of the New York School Lunch Committee in its provision of food at cost to all school children.

*English Method Based on Relief*

In England the genesis of the movement, curiously enough, is to be found in a memorandum issued by the Director General of the Army Medical Service, which followed the many rejections of recruits for military service on the ground of physical disability. An inquiry was subsequently instituted by the Inter-department Committee on Physical Deterioration. The evidence adduced before this Committee attested to the deplorable fact that, owing to destitution, ignorance and the general apathy of parents, masses of children were being reared without powers of endurance, as a result of which, among others, was their impaired ability to benefit from instruction.

The nation was justly aroused as a result of these findings, and the pendulum, which had swayed to the side of neglect, indifference and lethargy, swung to the side of generous arrestive measures. As a result, the system of feeding at public expense the children who could obtain no proper nourishment at home received a great impetus. Subsidies were allowed by Parliament to encourage local educational authorities to secure for each child an adequate quantity of food. In each case an inquiry is made to determine the desirability of placing the child on the free feeding list.

A great deal of dissatisfaction has been manifested with the English system because of alleged pauperizing tendency in free food distribution. Its chief fault lies in the fact that no benefit accrues to the child until he is actually an object of relief, in many cases at a time when he is so devitalized from under-nourishment as to render these eleventh hour measures abortive.

*American System Based on Social Precaution*

In the United States the provision of food is not confined to the needy, but is available to all. The food is not given away, but is sold at cost. It really differs in few respects from any ordinary business enterprise except in so far as it is sanctioned by the educational authorities, and has no commercial ambitions. Each portion of food costs one penny — a price so small as to be within the reach of the poorest.

There is a distinct cleavage between the English and American systems, the chief distinguishing characteristic of our system being

its policy of constructive social betterment. It is constructive in that it operates before the child is the object of relief and frequently precludes it from falling into that unfortunate class. It is preventive in that it prevents the dire results which spring from poorly nourished bodies. At the same time, it is not isolated nor a service for one particular class as against another. On the contrary, it is a leveling one, for it encourages democracy by giving to all alike, the unfortunate and the opulent, and in the same degree.

Antagonists of this American method allege that it is not the function of the educational authorities to provide food to pupils. The school building, it is claimed, should be used for educational purposes solely and not for those supplementary activities which normally belong to the home. The whole tendency is to remove the responsibility from the parents and substitute therefor communal action. School feeding results frequently in breaking up the socializing influence of the table at home and puts a premium on parental neglect. It frequently gives slothful parents an opportunity to become indifferent about home duties.

The protagonists of this movement contend, on the other hand, that as education is provided as a mean of protecting society against illiteracy and its dangers, it is not accomplishing that object in all cases thoroughly owing to the physical condition of many of its charges. In spite of the liberal provision made for educational purposes, the end sought is frequently defeated because a badly nourished child fails to respond to the educative process, retards the progress of his class and is himself impervious to education. The cost of re-educating the children who, by reason of physical disability, are backward is a public expenditure which might be minimized possibly by rendering the children susceptible to being taught through proper and sufficient feeding. A sound policy of public health makes imperative the establishment of such agencies as would prevent in a large measure diseases and disability.

The writer believes that the cost of providing for industrial misfits who not infrequently through physical defects become public charges is greater than the cost of such preventive measures as providing lunches. Under the American system there is no pauperization in the feeding of school children. The service as sup-

ported by the School Lunch Committee is based on the principle of barter and sale. It is a business transaction purely.

A high standard of physical perfection is no less desirable than mental capacity. Expenditures for education would in all probability yield a greater dividend if devoted to the teaching of children who are physically and mentally fit to receive and understand what is given them. The lunch service is, in a degree, maintained to compete with badly prepared home foods which are not always adapted to the needs of a growing child. The mother may show the greatest solicitude in providing her child with adequate quantities of food, yet the food itself may be such as to be of little benefit, and in some cases not free from danger. Through the instrumentality of the school lunchroom it is sought to reflect through the child into the home the science of proper selection, preparation and hygiene of food.

#### *A Period of Expansion*

The Committee, reassured by the timely aid of Mrs. Anderson, reorganized the service and laid the groundwork for the group kitchen plan. Under this new method of operation the Committee spread to seventeen public schools.

There is now maintained a noon lunch service in the following seventeen schools in Manhattan, with the indicated registrations:

P. S.	Location	Registration
95	West Houston and Clarkson streets, near Varick street . . . . .	2,135
34	Broome and Sheriff streets . . . . .	2,058
120	187 Broome street . . . . .	123
92	Broome and Ridge streets . . . . .	1,684
147	Henry and Gouverneur streets . . . . .	2,348
20	Rivington, Forsyth and Eldridge streets . . . . .	2,352
106	Lafayette and Spring streets . . . . .	915
21	Mott and Elizabeth streets, near Spring street . . . . .	2,660
108	60 Mott street . . . . .	780
84	430 West 50th street . . . . .	1,080
3	Hudson and Grove streets . . . . .	1,722
107	272 West 10th street . . . . .	566
8	29 King street . . . . .	1,193
28	257 West 40th street . . . . .	1,105

P. S.	Location	Registration
51 519	West 44th street.....	1,541
127 515	West 37th street.....	670
11 514	West 17th street.....	1,135
<hr/> 17 Schools.		<hr/> Total..... 24,087 <hr/>

Before the extension of luncheon facilities to a new school, an examination of the economic complexion of the surrounding population is made. When the proper equipment had been installed and the system established, many principals sought the aid of the Committee in the establishment of a service of milk and crackers during the mid-morning for the pupils of the kindergarten, anæmic, ungraded and crippled classes. In accordance with these requests, the Committee inaugurated a self-sustaining service of this nature in eight schools.

It is obvious that with a scheme embracing a registration of nearly 25,000 children, a business organization of some magnitude had to be reared. It now comprises a staff of forty-five paid workers and additional labor obtained through special contract.

#### *Official Status of School Lunches*

The service is maintained by virtue of the permission granted to the Committee by the Board of Education subject to the condition that no liability accrue to it by reason of this privilege. Up to the time that the Committee became part of the Bureau of Welfare of School Children, no municipal aid had been given to this work. It has been urged by some that certain expenditures such as the stationary equipment in the school kitchens might be considered as legitimate charges to be borne by the city.

In 1913 the city granted \$2,300 for equipment for the maintenance and extension of this work.

#### *Mechanism of the Service*

In four central kitchens the food for seventeen schools is prepared, whence it is distributed in high heat-retaining coppers.

At 11:45 in each of the seventeen schools squads of picked pupils set up the portable tables in preparation for serving the

lunch. The children come from their classrooms, form lines, usually in the interior playyards, and as they pass a given point take up a tray, spoon and whatever other utensils are necessary. The line goes by the large containers of soup, which is dispensed in half-pint portions to the children. The rule has been to have each child purchase first a half-pint bowl of soup, after which he may purchase any of the other items prepared for that day. After buying the soup the child passes along the table on which the other foods are displayed, choosing those which appeal to him.

Behind these tables the picked pupils, in white gloves and aprons, and, in the case of the girls, caps, hand to the children the desired articles. At the end of the line the associate manager stands to receive as many pennies as there are items of food on each child's tray. The child carries his lunch to one of the tables which have been set for that purpose, where the food is eaten.

After finishing the meal, the child takes the tray and soiled dishes to a designated place, where any remaining food is scraped into a pail and the bowls, trays and utensils are neatly placed in piles ready to be washed. This affords an opportunity for a lesson in practical domestic science.

It would be a mistaken policy, we believe, to make the children of the schools the wretched objects of compassion through free meals. It is rather our aim to instil in them a wholesome respect for food and its value by having them pay for it as they get it, yet making the price so small as to be within the reach of the poorest. Incidentally, it stimulates a wise choice, a quick decision and, through example, suggests the hygiene of food handling. The penny payment per portion makes of the child a self-respecting purchaser of goods for value, not the recipient of a dole.

### *Economy of the Central Kitchen*

The lesson is plain that the extension of penny-portion lunches in New York City will be possible only in so far as we can make the service self-sustaining. We have therefore been compelled to concentrate our labor forces in such a way as to get results through a minimum expenditure of energy and money. This determination led to the formulation of a plan for a central or group kitchen.

The method devised for the computation of costs has enabled the Committee to ascertain exactly the comparative values of separate



kitchens and central kitchens. Such comparisons of cost totals for 1912-13 and 1913-14 show a net saving of .0019 on each portion of food in labor, supervision and transportation costs, probably due to the centralization of labor.

It is not argued that the central kitchen plan is feasible in all parts of the country. On the contrary, it is only possible in such cities as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Pittsburg and Boston, where the number of schools is large enough to find them clustered one about the other and thus make practical the group kitchen method by reason of the proximity of the schools.

### *Hygiene of Food*

When the responsibility of feeding large groups of children is assumed, naturally it becomes necessary to take every precaution to preclude the possibility of rendering the children ill through the use of the foods prepared for them. The most effective method of preserving the purity of the foods served is to detect at the source any condition which may affect the child injuriously. This is done in the following ways:

1. Chemical and bacteriological analyses of the foods about to be purchased, through co-operation with the Bureau of Food Supply of the Department of Social Welfare and the Health Department.
2. Personal sanitary inspection of the factories where the food is made.
3. Control of the handling of food after it is manufactured and about to be used by our own staff.
4. Preference to factories where the employees are medically examined to weed out carriers of contagious diseases.
5. Medical examination of the cooks and assistants in the kitchens. Complete physical examination of the children who assist in the service.
6. Sanitation of equipment and method through co-operation with the Bureau of Public Health and Hygiene of the Department of Social Welfare.

These precautionary measures have in themselves an educational value. If all consumers could thus impress on manufacturers that

they are watched to see that products are made in a clean, safe way, they would soon learn the necessity of producing commodities under hygienic conditions.

### *Scientific Menu Making*

The planning of body-building food for children is a task requiring scientific knowledge. Before a dish is authorized, the dietitian employed by the Committee must be satisfied that—

1. It does not offend religious or racial preferences.
2. It is not injurious to child development.
3. It does not fall below the Committee's standard of food value.
4. The essentials of balanced constituents are regarded in the preparation of the food.

During the early part of last winter the Committee, in co-operation with Dr. Frank C. Gebhart, of Cornell University, subjected all the foods to laboratory tests. The following table will show the caloric values, or energy producing elements, of the foods sold:

	<i>Calorics per penny portion</i>		<i>Calorics per penny portion</i>
<i>Soups — Half-pint:</i>		Potato salad . . . . .	117.00
Green pea . . . . .	128.31	Vegetable salad . . . .	76.50
Cream of barley . . . .	120.47	Lentil salad . . . . .	189.12
Cream of macaroni . . .	113.57	Beet salad . . . . .	57.66
Lentil . . . . .	112.77	Apple sauce . . . . .	108.57
White bean . . . . .	111.27	Egg sandwich . . . . .	236.28
Macaroni and tomato	105.29	Butter sandwich . . .	247.25
Split pea . . . . .	100.70	Jam sandwich . . . . .	227.75
Tapioca and tomato . .	90.83	Cheese sandwich . . .	250.17
Corn . . . . .	90.66	Pot cheese sandwich .	212.28
American vegetable . .	85.00	Prune sandwich . . . .	243.20
Scotch broth . . . . .	84.91	Apple jelly sandwich	240.17
Clam chowder . . . . .	82.00	Jelly tarts . . . . .	83.85
<i>Foods Other than</i>		Spice cakes . . . . .	108.70
<i>Soups:</i>		Vanilla cakes . . . . .	28.53
Rice pudding . . . . .	108.76	Prunes . . . . .	180.00
Bread pudding . . . . .	131.00	Dates . . . . .	200.00
Chocolate pudding . .	101.50		
Baked beans . . . . .	167.50	Average . . . . .	154.79
Baked macaroni . . .	89.66		

Some of the typical trays of food purchased, none of which aggregates a cost of more than three cents, are shown here:

Green pea soup.....	128.31	Vegetable soup .....	85.00
Bread, 2 slices.....	200.00	Egg sandwich .....	236.00
Apple sauce .....	108.57	Rice pudding .....	108.76
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	436.88		429.76
	<hr/>		<hr/>
Cream of barley....	120.47	Clam chowder .....	82.00
Cheese sandwich ...	250.17	Butter sandwich ...	247.25
Chocolate pudding ..	101.5	Jelly tarts .....	83.85
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	472.14		413.10
	<hr/>		<hr/>
Macaroni and tomato	105.29	Bean soup .....	111.27
Apple jelly sandwich	240.17	Bread, 2 slices.....	200.00
Cocoa .....	100.00	Prunes .. ...	180.00
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	445.46		491.27
	<hr/>		<hr/>

#### *Medical Examination of Food Handlers*

An additional precaution taken by the Committee has been a thorough physical examination of all its employees for the purpose of obviating the likelihood of transmitting disease in the preparation or handling of food. Blood tests were made and throat cultures taken of all employees. This was supplemented by a campaign among the employees to submit to vaccination if they had not been immunized within the past three years. As a result, two-thirds of the working staff were vaccinated.

The paid staff is augmented by groups of pupils who assist in the service. One hundred and thirty-three of these children were also examined, stripped to the waist, for evidence of contact points of disease transmission. The result of these examinations clearly demonstrated their importance, for cases of typhoid, diphtheria and Wasserman reactions were discovered. This knowledge en-

abled the Committee not only to secure absolutely healthy helpers, but to secure treatment for those who had failed in the test.

This is the first effort of its kind in school lunch work. It is hoped that it will serve as an example not only for services in schools, but also for restaurants and hotels or wherever food is publicly dispensed.

#### *Educational Work in Connection with School Lunches*

The serving of lunches has been supplemented by parents' meetings, demonstrations, exhibits and similar activities which seek to bring home the practical lessons of food economy. In the high school, where the pupils are sufficiently advanced to understand the fundamentals of food economy, we have issued periodically brief, simple bulletins on the function and uses of foods. It is hoped this year to experiment in the use of simple lessons in food to be given the elementary school children. This is but one part of the educational aspect of school feeding. The service of lunches accomplishes the socialization of the meal period by the children; encourages prompt selection which develops quick decision; develops good and proper manners and creates a desire for good foods which, if urged in turn upon the housewife, will result in better feeding, not alone for the school child but for the other members of the family.

Any adequate conception of education must include not only the welfare of the individual, but his relation to the social organism. From either standpoint any system of education that allows a considerable group to be reared as physical weaklings, foredoomed to future pain and misfortune, fails. It is therefore an important function of education to assure to its wards sturdy bodies if they are to have active minds. A supply of proper food is an essential element of the problem. Perhaps no agency is better fitted to contribute to the solution of this problem than the school. This does not mean that it is the primary business of the school to supply food to children, but to contribute in the most effective way that information and knowledge that will, through the practical experience of the children themselves, aid the home in carrying out its own proper business.

*The Extent of the Committee's Influence*

In less than eight months the Committee has sold 1,249,489 portions of food, for which it received in pennies \$12,494.89. The average daily attendance at the tables in 17 schools during the last school year was 3,337 children. The average amount of money spent per child per meal was 2.9 cents. During the term a total of 431,753 children were served. The percentage of the school enrollment availing itself of this service was 13.7. This percentage varies in the different schools from 52 per cent. to 8.7 per cent. It must be remembered that children who have homes to go to are not encouraged to purchase food, although there is no restriction upon their action.

*Total Costs and Deficits*

In serving 1,249,489 portions of food in 17 schools during the current school year a net deficit of \$4,624.52 has been incurred, which is equivalent to 37/100 of a cent deficit for each portion of food provided; this has been paid out of the fund entrusted to the Department of Social Welfare by Mrs. Elizabeth Milbank Anderson. The net deficit the year before in operating nine schools was \$4,320.94; the total net deficit in 1913-14 was but \$303.58 more than in 1912-13, although 17 schools were operated during this year as against 9 in the year before.

*Comparison of Average Net Deficit per School, 1913 and 1914*

Year	No. of schools operated	Net deficit	Average de- ficit per school
1914 . . . . .	17	\$4,624 52	\$272 01
1913 . . . . .	9	4,320 94	480 10

Decrease of net deficit per school in 1914. . . .	\$208 09
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Through enlarging the field of work and concentrating the preparation and administration for seventeen schools, serving 1,249,489 portions, the net deficit of \$4,624.52 really represents a lower cost of service.

The following table is the summary financial statement from October 1 to June 1, 1914:

Total expenditures .....	\$17,889 48
Total receipts .....	12,494 89
Gross deficit .....	\$5,394 50
Equipment cost, \$905.97 — 15% less for depreciation.	770 07
Net deficit .....	\$4,624 52
Deficit per penny portion, 1913-14....	.0037
Deficit per penny portion, 1912-13....	.0072
Decrease of deficit per portion in 1913-14	.0035

#### *High School Lunches*

In his Annual Report to the Board of Education for 1912-13 Dr. William H. Maxwell, Superintendent of Schools of New York City, says:

“In many of our high schools food is supplied by caterers who have obtained the privilege from your Board and who make considerable profit from the service. In my judgment this plan is fundamentally wrong. Food, if furnished in the schools at all, should be furnished at cost price.”

These concessions given to commercial caterers have long been the thorn in the side of proper food supply for high school pupils.

Believing that the high school lunch situation presents an opportunity for utilizing the lunch service as an educational instrumentality, the Committee made a formal proposition to the Board of Education to take over the service of lunches in all of the twenty-one secondary schools. It is proposed to supply the most nourishing foods, higher priced than the penny service, leaving a sufficient margin to cover any possible deficiencies. Any profit which may accrue as the result of such enterprise the Committee proposes to turn over for the maintenance and extension of the penny lunch service. The desire is to consolidate the school lunch work, both elementary and high, so as to make one big self-supporting organization.

In order to demonstrate practically the feasibility of this scheme, the Committee now operates a lunch service in the Julia Richman High School, No. 60 West 13th street, Manhattan, where, under the expert supervision of a dietitian, food is sold daily to the greater part of the school registration. The service is maintained co-operatively with the Julia Richman High School Association. The administration is governed by a lunch council. The two principal features of this work other than the distribution of luncheons are the educational bulletins and lectures given on food topics. Each week there is issued a bulletin giving the fundamentals of food economy. Copies of these bulletins are mimeographed by the girls in the office-practice classes of the school and distributed to the pupils. The formal bulletins are supplemented by talks to small groups, when the children are given the opportunity to ask and receive answers to questions. Every second week some prominent person associated and familiar with food work gives a lecture to the assembled students.

The menus which are published daily give not merely the cost of the food which is prepared for that day, but also its caloric value. Constant acquaintance with these educational menus will soon bring the pupil to know the comparative food values of different foods. A typical menu is given herewith:

## JULIA RICHMAN HIGH SCHOOL

### LUNCH SERVICE

#### *Menu Bulletin No. 37*

N. B.— You require 800 balanced calories for lunch. Purchase the items which give you this quantity.

Soup:	Calories	Price
Split pea, bread and butter.....	310	\$0 05
Hot dish:		
Veal stew with vegetables, bread and butter	350	10
Vegetables:		
Lima beans .....	125	03
Sandwiches:		
Date nut on graham bread.....	245	04
Chopped egg .....	200	04

Desserts:		
Raisin layer cake.....	300	05
Horton's ice cream.....	200	05
Bread pudding, chocolate sauce.....	275	04
Baked apples and cream.....	120	03
Apple . . . . .	50	01
Crackers:		
Cecilias . . . . .	100	3 for 01
Fireside peanut jumbles.....	110	2 for 01
Candy:		
Sweet milk chocolate, large bars.....	500	05
Almond bars . . . . .	600	05
Assorted penny candy.....	100	01
Beverages:		
Milk . . . . .	140	03
Cocoa . . . . .	110	03
Breads:		
White or graham, with butter.....	185	02

The result of the educational work done here is clearly demonstrated in the change of demand for food. The first few days of the service, the candy and pastry tables were the chief points of purchase, more than half the receipts coming from that source. About 30 bowls of soup were sold and 15 to 20 other hot dishes. Within four weeks from the commencement of the service we were selling an average of 80 to 90 bowls of soup and 40 to 60 other hot dishes. All of the food is prepared in our own kitchen.

In the schools where the commercial concessionaire operates, there is no attempt made to co-ordinate the lunch service with the educational work. It can be readily seen that such a correlation contains great potentialities for good. The Julia Richman High School, of course, shows no deficit. On the contrary, there is a slight margin over expenses. This fund pays off the indebtedness incurred in the equipment of the plant.

#### *Plans for 1915-16*

The plan of the central kitchen under which the Committee operates allows for greater economy. Under this plan, as here-



inafter tentatively outlined, for the next school year, there will be five central kitchens in which the food for twenty-eight elementary schools will be prepared. The proposal for next year is to add to each of the present central kitchens one or two new schools.

It is then proposed to organize one additional central kitchen in the crowded lower East Side, where six schools might be served with a total registration of 11,464 children. Under this plan the lunch service will be available to a total of 44,883 children. In order to engage upon this further widening of the work, the Committee is asking the Board of Education to include in its budgetary request for 1915 an item of \$6,539.39 to repair and equip schools of our existing and proposed services. This sum has been allowed by the Board of Estimate and Apportionment and is the largest appropriation for the purpose ever granted, which demonstrates the growing confidence in the efficacy of the work.

#### *Aim and Prospect*

The aim of the School Lunch Committee is to provide a warm, stimulating lunch at cost to all school children, directing special effort to those whose home conditions make impossible the supply of nourishing food there. The Committee believes in the social, educational and economic value of the school meal, and its officers are of the opinion that it will yield to the nation a greater social return than would be otherwise possible.

In 1910 there were 13,991 cases of malnutrition among one-third of the school population. A careful estimate indicates that there are not less than 37,776 cases in all. Malnutrition is not due, it is true, to lack of food, but it is itself a defective condition to which improper food or lack of food may have contributed. There is, therefore, every reason for the extension of the work, not only for its remedial but for its preventive value in the case of school children.

The School Lunch Committee interprets the movement in which it is engaged as essentially an educational one, that is carried on without, at any stage, involving any sacrifice of sturdy democratic ideals of independence and self-respect. The practical problems of distribution and supply have been solved with gratifying success. Nevertheless, as good business administration is necessary

for the realization of an ideal, the aim of the Committee is to improve yet further the machinery that has already accomplished such satisfactory results.

PERSONNEL OF THE NEW YORK SCHOOL LUNCH COMMITTEE

Mabel Hyde Kittredge, Chairman  
 Bailey B. Burritt, Secretary  
 Edward F. Brown, Executive Secretary  
 Edna M. Klaer, Supervisor

Dr. Donald B. Armstrong      Miss M. A. Nutting  
 Dr. C. Ward Crampton      Mrs. Ernest Poole  
 James H. Hutchens      Mrs. J. T. Ryerson  
 John A. Kingsbury      Mrs. V. G. Simkhovitch  
 John Martin      Miss Lillian D. Wald  
 Dr. Ira S. Wile      Dr. Thomas D. Wood

Headquarters  
 105 East 22d Street  
 New York City

SUMMARY PLAN OF ACTIVITIES FOR 1915-1916

P.S.	Location	Attendance	Amount asked from City for alterations and equipment	
95*	West Houston and Clarkson streets.	2,315	\$237 80	
107	272 West 10th street.....	586	31 05	
3	Hudson and Grove streets.....	1,722	26 10	
8	29 King street.....	1,193	16 45	
38†	Dominick, Clarke and Broome streets	2,157	370 30	
		7,973		\$681 70
92*	Broome and Ridge streets.....	1,684	\$57 25	
147	Henry and Gouverneur streets.....	2,348	7 36	
34	Broome and Sheriff streets.....	2,058	31 56	
20	Rivington, Forsyth and Eldridge sts.	2,352	114 45	
120	187 Broome street.....	123	16 73	
2*	116 Henry street.....	2,098	370 30	
		10,663		597 65

\* Central kitchen.

† School in which it is proposed to operate service for first time.

SUMMARY PLAN OF ACTIVITIES FOR 1915-1916 — *Continued*

P.S.	Location	Attendance	Amount asked from City for alterations and equipment	
11*	314 West 17th street.....	1,135	\$255 45	
84	430 West 50th street.....	1,080	199 45	
127	515 West 37th street.....	670	175 00	
17†	335 West 47th street.....	1,845	343 00	
56†	351 West 18th street.....	1,231	177 51	
51	519 West 44th street.....	1,541		
28	257 West 40th street.....	1,105		
		8,607		\$1,160 41
21*	222 Mott street.....	2,680	\$162 90	
106	Lafayette street near Spring street..	915		
108	60 Mott street.....	780	175 00	
23*	Mulberry and Bayard streets.....	1,821	354 40	
		6,176		692 30
75†	25 Norfolk street.....	1,164	\$845 23	
62†	Hester and Essex streets.....	3,142	1,140 00	
7*	Chrystie and Hester streets.....	1,476	343 00	
177†	Market and Monroe streets.....	1,749	354 40	
42†	Hester, Ludlow and Orchard streets.	1,828	354 40	
65†	Eldridge street, near Hester street..	2,155	370 30	
		11,464		3,407 33
Total registration to whom service of penny-an-article lunch will be avail- able in 1915-1916.....		44,884		
Total sum requested for 1915-16.....				\$6,539 39

OVERWHELMING OBJECTIONS TO THE NATIONAL INSURANCE ACT  
IN ENGLAND

On all sides the Insurance Act is causing widespread criticism. Books and pamphlets from all societies and quarters against the act are seen everywhere. The general opinion is that such a gigantic scheme should have been taken piecemeal — that a long enough period was not given to such a preponderous problem to make it practical, so that it is estimated many years must elapse before it reaches anything like an equitable basis. It seems to be discriminating in many instances and so complicated in its various ramifications, thus affecting individuals in such various ways.

It cannot affect the widow and her children, except if she has been employed for certain periods of time. She can get no bene-

\* Central kitchen.

† School in which it is proposed to operate service for first time.

fits from her husband's death, or from any of her children, unless they are employed. These points are explained in one of hundreds of letters received by Lloyd George, the author of the bill, which were presented to the House of Commons:

### The Position of Women

28th, August, 1911.

"I am desired by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to say that the position of women under the National Insurance Bill is receiving his consideration.

"With regard, however, to the matters to which you make particular reference, Mr. Lloyd George wishes me to point out that if, before marriage, a woman has been an employed contributor for a period of five years or upwards she will be able on becoming a widow to resume her insurance as a voluntary contributor at the original rate (6d. a week) notwithstanding that she is unable to become an employed contributor within the meaning of the Bill. Moreover, if on becoming a widow she is already rendered unfit to provide her own maintenance by reason of some specific disease, or by bodily or mental disablement, she is at once entitled to sickness and disablement benefits by reference to her previous insurance before marriage; she is entitled to sickness benefit if she has been an employed contributor for 26 weeks, to disablement benefit if she has been an employed contributor for two years.

"Mr. Lloyd George desires me also to call your attention to clause 10 of the Bill which deals with the subject of arrears. Sickness benefit is only suspended when the person is in arrear to a greater extent than 13 contributions a year on the average, and medical and sanatorium benefits are only suspended when the person is in arrear to an amount greater than 26 contributions a year on the average. The effect of this is that a widow who had been in regular employment six years before her marriage would be entitled without any further contribution to sickness benefit at a reduced rate or to disablement benefit at any time within two years of the date of her husband's death and to medical or sanatorium benefit at any time within six years. This meets the case you quote of widows who become unfit 'shortly' after their husband's death."

Following also are some of the recent views of Mr. Sidney Webb, a member of the National Insurance Commission.

"The biggest social experiment of our time is now fairly launched. The vast scheme of National Insurance, which Mr. Lloyd George expounded to a bewildered House of Commons twenty-two months ago, is, at last, not only the law of the land, but also actually at work — no longer a mere instrument of taxation, but also a freely running fountain of benefits. A fund of nearly ten millions sterling has been already rolled up (apart from the Government contribution) as initial capital, six-sevenths of it as the Sickness Fund and one-seventh as the Unemployment Fund. On January 15th, 1913, nearly fourteen millions of people became eligible for one or other of the promised benefits in the event of the contingencies occurring.

"Yet, as regards the scheme as a whole, and how it is affecting our national life, the nation is still completely in the dark. The machinery of the Act is so complicated, the regulators are so multifarious, and the official information supplied is so discreetly limited — not to say evasive — that we none of us know where we are! The newspapers, whilst wearying us with the controversy over the doctors, and throwing in picturesque details about the earliest babies to earn the Maternity Benefit, have given up even looking at the four or five documents that the Commissioners publish day by day. The journalists have found the scheme as a whole, in its living and working reality, too complicated and difficult to tackle. We cannot see the forest for the trees!

"It is, of course, far too early to pronounce any balanced judgment on the scheme in its entirety.

"‘This,’" said Mr. Balfour, in the House of Commons, "‘is the most complicated bill of the last hundred years, and it touches more sets of people in more obscure and un-analyzable ways than any measure which has been tried.’"

However, Mr. Webb is of the opinion that since the first complete year will see fifteen millions paid out in benefits, some of the good points of the act must not be lost sight of. But that "it

is important, if only with a view to the inevitable amending bills that must come, to note at once whatever we can discern." In various books he deals at length with many problems of the friendly societies, etc. Following are a few of his "findings" relative to families.

Mr. Webb and his associates have studied very carefully the effect of the act in all phases of family life and especially the four million women workers which details are too voluminous to mention here. However, it has effected to no small degree the relations of employer and employee. As to this he states:

#### HOW THE £50,000 (ABOUT \$250,000) PER DAY IS BEING PAID

"The Government is now selling every day, on an average, over £50,000 worth of Health Insurance stamps. How is this large sum being paid? There is naturally less satisfaction with the arrangements among those who find themselves compelled to contribute than among the officials. The employers, indeed, have for the most part, been making such exceptionally large profits that they have given up grumbling, either at the new impost of eight millions a year to which they find themselves subjected, or at the very considerable extra trouble and clerical work which is has involved. Large employers have had to engage additional clerks for the sole purpose of dealing with the forms and cards and accounts which the Act has necessitated.

"That the new expense has simply been put upon prices is demonstrated in one industry after another. Building and engineering works, contractors, for instance, have openly added the exact percentage to their tenders. Up and down the country particular employers have publicly notified an increase of prices as due directly to the Act. How much of the exceptionally great rise in prices during 1912 — about 5 per cent. over 1911 — may be put down to this increase in the expense of production it is difficult to calculate. No economist has any doubt that it is the consumer who is paying roughly, in proportion to his expenditure on commodities, not only the whole tax and the expenses which it necessitates, but even a little more. Nevertheless, farmers who believe

the price of their produce to be fixed by foreign imports, and the many small employers, who feel themselves unable to raise their prices, lest the large employer should steal all their trade, complain that the Insurance Tax hits them personally very hard.

"Among these are the widow women struggling on with little hand laundries, the small shop-keepers with a few assistants, the little dressmakers and milliners, and so many others in the nooks and corners of industry, to whom it seems as if the new tax may be the last straw to crush them in their bitter fight against the large employer. Earning, as they nearly all do, less than £160 (about \$800) a year, they might on profitable terms, if under 45, within these six months, have become voluntary contributors on their own behalf (and thus added sixpence or sevenpence a week to their expenses), in the hope of being themselves provided for in sickness. This, it is now clear, they have, for the most part, been unable or unwilling to do. Hence the Insurance Act is net loss to them."

That much suffering is immediately within the family affecting women and children is evident.

Mr. Webb says:

"In the one or two millions of households maintained on wages of less than £1 (about \$5) per week, it is on the wives and mothers and children that the burden of the Act is, for the most part, now falling. The workman hands over to his 'missus' out of his weekly wage no larger an amount than he did before the deductions began — we need not be cynical enough to say that she is lucky if with a reduced income he gives her even as much as before! But, partly because of the new impost on the employer's industrial operations, all prices have risen. Because of the Insurance Act, she can buy less food and clothing than before for the family maintenance. This means that the children, and, above all, the wives and mothers, have to go short. And it is the climax of the tragedy that it is just the children (and the home-keeping mothers past child-bearing) for whom the Act brings no benefits whatsoever!

### Claiming Exemption

"Another source of hardship and injustice is the difficulty put in the way of workers getting less than 1s. 6d. (37c) per day, who are not liable to any deduction from their scanty earnings. The forms which they have to fill up (and, by misinterpretation of a regulation, to fill up personally) are, in many cases, beyond their comprehension. In case after case it has been found that these helpless women are submitting to a deduction from their scanty wages or piecework earnings, for which there is no legal warrant."

### Findings of Mrs. Pember Reeves

Many prominent women's societies and organizations have taken up the question of the Insurance Act for women. Mrs. Pember Reeves headed an investigation from the Fabian Society which has been carried on for three years. They visited many families and arrived at several budgets as to actual needs of the poorest families. It has been an exhaustive but complete work, covering every need in minute detail.

One of these findings is that in spite of any Insurance Acts the great need of government aid for children is most urgent. This is well stated by Mrs. Reeves, who sums it up in "Family Life on Five Dollars a Week." In this she says:

"Children, once an economic asset, are now a cause of expense, continually increased by legislation, which tends more and more to take children and young persons out of the labor market. The State, which has wisely decreed that children shall not be self-supporting, has no more valuable asset than these children were they reared under conditions favorable to child life instead of in the darkness and dampness and semi-starvation which is all that the decent, hard-working poor can now afford.

"Any minimum wage which is likely to be wrung from the pockets of the employing class during the next few years would not affect the question raised by the earlier budgets in this tract where the wage is already over £1 (\$5) a week. Therefore, along with a strenuous demand for a national minimum wage, advance must be made on the line already



laid down by the State in its provision of free and compulsory education for its children and in its statutory endorsement of the principle of school feeding. The establishment of school clinics, which is a step likely soon to become general, ought to be followed by a national system of compulsory attended baby clinics. It is obvious from official reports already laid before the public that by the time they can be received into a national school many children have already suffered for want of medical attention. The doctors in charge of baby clinics, knowing that what a hungry, healthy infant wants is milk, and being confronted week after week with the same hungry infants gradually growing less and less healthy as their need was not satisfied, would collect and tabulate in their reports an amount of evidence on the subject which would revolutionize public opinion on the question of the nations children and their needs.

"If men, already in steady receipt of wages as high as any minimum wage likely to be attained for years to come, can only feed and house their families after the strictest personal self-denial, as these budgets show, the State, if it is to concern itself with its most vital affairs, should recognize its ultimate responsibility for the proper maintenance of its children.

"That this responsibility might eventually take the shape suggested in 'The Case for a Legal Minimum Wage,' for the children of widows or unmarried women, is quite possible. Some form of child maintenance grant might be placed in the hands of parents who, as joint administrators would be answerable for the well-being of their children. It would be easy to discover through the clinics whether this duty was in each case being efficiently performed. A child, presented happy and well cared for would be a sufficient guarantee, and a child whose condition appeared to be unsatisfactory would be noted and all necessary steps would be taken to secure its welfare.

"The country has faced the dead weight of Old Age Pensions; it is not impossible that the creative and repaying task of building up the nation's youth should be collectively undertaken."

Comments of L. Haden Guest M. R. C. S. (Eng.), L. R. C. P.  
(Lond.)

That England is waking up to the need of the physical welfare of the child is strongly noted on all sides. Not only does it now empower the school board to give food to the child at school at the expense of the board, but further medical aid is looked forward to. Dr. Guest of the Fabian society has gone into the question of school clinics. A few of his notations are given here:

### **The Morass of Destitution**

"Children belonging to the poverty group, as already defined, are the children sprung from the morass of destitution which quakes and shivers around the foundations of our civilization. These children come from definitely localized neighborhoods, from particular streets, and from special blocks of 'model' dwellings. The poverty of destitution and demoralization is spotted over the surface of our towns as concretely as smallpox is spotted over the face of a man sick from this disease. The poverty spots are, however, mouths of the abyss into which human life and our civilization sink away out of sight of man. And to children coming from the poverty spots, it is no use giving a box of ointment or a bottle of lotion to cure their diseases; these things make no impression thrown into the abyss.

"A mother equipped with patience, the desire of cleanliness, and the wish for health, may get some good out of a hospital out-patient department, even if the interview accorded by the doctor after hours of waiting be very brief. The mother from the demoralized poverty spot, even if she does arrive at the hospital, will get usually no help of which she can avail herself."

He goes into the question of poverty and disease with an X-ray, and brings out the fact that future dependence will be eliminated if the government prepared the ounce of prevention beginning with the health of the child rather than the pound of

cure that the same child will necessitate in being thrown back on the poor laws later on. He states:

"The home conditions of such children also need tackling; the necessity of open windows and soap and water need pointing out, and all kinds of complicated little details need discussing with the parents. These are the duties of the Care Committee, but if they are to be effectively carried out, if remedial feeding is to become a reality instead of a pretence, and if medical defects are to be cured, there is only one effective way of doing these things — all of these activities must center round a school clinic. And the school clinic, the school doctors, and the school nurses must be as much a part of the school organization as the school teachers.

"The average children in council schools (who are nevertheless below the standard of their own possibilities), and the children with medical defects only, may be put aside for the moment; the children with defects plus poverty are an urgent problem demanding instant attention.

"It may, in theory, be highly desirable to 'insist' on the parents getting remedied the defects pointed out to them by medical inspection. In practice the parents will either not do so, or only pretend to do so, for in the matter of getting treatment it is fatally easy to pretend. If the poverty group children are to have their illnesses and ailments remedied, they will have to be (a) fed on a diet designed to improve their physique, and (b) sent to hospital or school clinic in charge of someone from the school by the authority of the school.

#### THE NECESSITY OF THE SCHOOL CLINIC

"To continue the present methods of dealing with the poverty group children is to perpetuate the diseases and defects from which they suffer. Nothing but a special organization to meet the special case will be of any great service. What is done at present is of immense help in ameliorating disease, in easing pain, in keeping the worst conditions from spreading too widely; but what is done at

present is costly, cumbrous, involves great labor, and effects little permanent result, in the poverty group, often none.

"When medical treatment is as much a part of the school work as manual training or housewifery, then it will have a chance to be effective. The educated observation of the teacher will be at hand and at the doctor's disposal to supplement the haphazard observation of the parent, the report of the school will be available, and the machinery of the school organization, with school nurse, attendance officer, and children's care committee, will be able to be used for the purpose of carrying out necessary instructions in the home and out of school hours.

"In a word, instead of endeavoring to treat an ailing child by the agency of half a dozen badly co-ordinated or entirely separate institutions, with no effective grip anywhere, we shall be treating the same ailment as a part of the school life, with the necessary means entirely at our disposal and with all the other agencies adequately co-ordinated and properly effective.

"All the activities controlled and directed by the care committee should be worked in the closest co-operation with the school clinic. This is especially true of the provision of meals for necessitous children, but it is also true of the provision of boots and of clothing and of the arrangement of country holidays.

"In describing the suggested organization of the school clinic, I am relying on my experience at the St. George's Dispensary in Blackfriars, where for some time past the medical staff have been experimenting in the direction of the school clinic. The patients of this dispensary are women, school children and infants; the dispensary is free to those too poor to pay for medical advice, and some 6,000 patients, a large number of whom are school children, are seen every year. This figure probably represents the full number of patients who can be seen in the space available and during the time the doctors are in attendance.

"Judging from this experience, and that of others, who have been pioneering on school clinic lines, one gets a very actual view of the conditions to be met."

### GERMANY

As stated in the preliminary remarks, Germany stands in loco parentis to every dependent child whether dependent on account of poverty, neglected, or otherwise. The laws relating to the municipal control of such children, I believe, are better planned in the direction of the future citizen than in any other country.

The government can interfere in any action that the parent takes which the child might in later life find a handicap to the point of naming that child; and there are many examples on record where application for naming a baby was refused because the name was so unusual as to be questionable for the welfare of the child.

When I talked with Carl Doflein, Director of the Poor Law of Berlin, he stated that in his judgment outdoor relief for dependent children had proven by far the most efficient, in all his years of experience. He believed that it was better to board out children in private families of good standing than to put them in the best institutions. Also he claims that outdoor relief has proved not only a better means of rearing children but the cost has proved less to the government. Thus, in December of 1913, there were 8,763 children under fourteen years of age boarded out in Berlin, as against 288 in institutions. Herr Doflein agrees with the wisdom of having more women inspectors, and there are now 160 women inspectors in Berlin.

The government must be notified when a family moves, or when a child is removed from the family. Thus there is a complete record of children, as to birth, death or removal, and it is practically impossible for a child to exist without knowledge of that existence by the State.

Legislative trend in Germany has been to get at the foundation of civilization in the rearing of children so that they will be less of a liability to the community as they grow up.

In this effort they have not confined themselves to any one means of legislation, or to promote a general principle of relief; but they have been sincerely specific in covering each class of relief with the proper legislation necessary.

For instance, when they inaugurated social insurance in 1893

(which was first against illness only), that law was gradually developed until in the new law of January 1, 1914, nearly all classes were included, down to the lowliest kind of servant. It is notable here that Dr. Lehman, for years a member of the Central Board of Berlin, to whom I am indebted for many of the statistics concerning Berlin, strongly expressed the view that social insurance cannot possibly have an appreciable bearing on relief given to widows and children or similar dependents.

He stated that since the Insurance Act went fully into effect the cost of poor relief has increased annually.

In 1901-02 the city government of Berlin paid out for poor relief the sum of 16,664,398 marks.\* In 1913-14 the sum paid out was 30,405,100 marks. The percentage of increase from the year preceding was as follows, beginning with the year 1901-02 until 1910-11: 8.33, 9.33, 3.17, 0.75, 3.48, 13.54, 7.35, 8.68, 6.54, 14.19.

Before this time, however, in the law of 1912, they instituted a widows' pension law that gives to the widow the benefits accrued of the deceased husband and father's insurance. Yet this action was entirely apart from the recognized public continued or current claim of the widow and her children, which is strongly incorporated in the German law. This law of 1912 merely prescribes additional relief where the husband has for years paid a social insurance to the state.

Since the relief of widows and children as related to the state is treated in various sections of the legislative acts of Germany, I herewith present the principal laws in which they are concerned. I find that the best translation of them was made by the Royal Commission of England.

### Nature and Amount of Relief

#### SECTIONS 41-68

41. Any person who, as a result of loss of capacity for work, or of impaired working capacity or loss of a supporter, is not in a position to provide the necessary food, clothing, lodging, household furniture, and care of health, for himself and his family, by his own work or out of his own means, is to be considered in need of relief.

\*A mark equals \$0.238.

For the rest, need of relief also exists if there are persons or bodies legally obliged to give relief, who do not fulfill their obligations. In such cases temporary relief can, as a rule, be granted; moreover, the poor board shall help the paupers to make good their claims. Communication of the existing or probable claim is, therefore, to be made to the board with the schedule of queries or by direct notification.

To the families of able-bodied men called out to military practice, assistance will be granted on the grounds of the Imperial Law of May 10, 1892, for the period of practice. The payments on the grounds of this law do not preclude relief exceeding this, which shall as a rule be made not out of public means but out of the charitable funds of the poor relief board, if the condition of need is purely a result of the military practice.

Able-bodied persons are, as a rule, not to be considered as in need of relief. Only in exceptional cases, and after careful examination of their circumstances, may relief be granted them, and even then only temporarily. The investigation of the case shall especially aim at finding out whether the person seeking relief has honestly tried to get satisfactory work, but without success.

In suitable cases an able-bodied person seeking relief is to be referred to the labour registries. The poor board shall be at pains to enter into close relationship with the labour registries, and shall provide the committees with special directions on this point.

42. Work-shy persons, drunkards, trading beggars and dissolute women are as a rule to be debarred from receiving public poor relief. Should their condition make relief requisite the poor board is to recommend them to be received into the municipal shelter, or in the case of sickness have them placed in a hospital. Should the person concerned not make use of the arrangement, and should the relief officers believe that they cannot answer for the continuance of the condition of the case as observed by them at the time of the original application for relief, they shall then communicate with the poor board in order that the latter may put themselves into communication with the police authorities with a view to suitable measures being adopted.

The dependents of such persons, especially if they themselves are not to blame for the conduct of the head of the family, cannot

be debarred from all relief. But in the case of families deserted by their breadwinner the matter must be proceeded with special caution, and the relief be granted for quite short intervals.

On the schedule of queries are to be recorded with special care and detail these reasons for relief: Dipsomania, idleness, dissoluteness. On the part of the poor board special attention will be given to the prosecution of such persons.

Should persons in receipt of relief give way to immoral conduct, or connive at such conduct on the part of their wives and children, or take in dissolute women, etc., then if warning prove of no use, the relief is to be stopped and the matter communicated to the poor board.

43. Persons who have a claim on sickness or accident funds, or old age and invalidity insurance funds, are to be referred to the appropriate officers, but if the demand is not immediately settled, or if the relief desired from them is insufficient, they may be given poor relief. Relief is to be given also where the sickness continues longer than the insurance payment lasts (thirteen or twenty-six weeks).

44. The disposition to drive away needy relations of a poor person is forbidden. It is morally and financially one of the chief duties of the relieving officer to aim at renewing the family ties among members of a family.

46. Public poor relief must be confined to the granting of necessities within the limits prescribed by the law, and these instructions. Thus, for instance, the paying of debts, the granting of loans and the like and not matters for public poor relief.

For all that, the poor relief committee will often experience a desire to help someone who, through no fault of his own, has, through special circumstances, such as temporary unemployment, sickness or death in the family, fallen into a temporary state of need.

Here it is of quite special importance by opportune help to keep such a person or family from falling into a permanent state of need, and aid them in continuing their independent existence. Often a little applied at the right time may have big results.

The publication entitled "The Charitable Institutions of Berlin and Its Suburbs" shows, in various ways, how and where private charity may be usefully invoked.

In especial, the Consistory of the French Church has declared itself ready to take over the care of the poor belonging to the



French colony. According to agreement with the Consistory the poor relief committees are therefore authorized to refuse all poor applying to them and describing themselves as French members of the Reformed Church, and refer them to the Consistory for relief. However, in individual cases in which the ecclesiastical system of relief must from its nature refuse relief, the Consistory has reserved to itself the right to make over the poor persons concerned to the municipal poor relief administration, with express written communication as to the grounds of refusal.

47. Under certain circumstances, the endowments committee (of the corporation) is invoked to help, so far as funds allow, in the case of persons who are not relieved out of public moneys. Applications may be made through the mediation of the poor board by the relief committees on behalf of specially worthy persons. Occasionally also the poor board will have such funds to distribute, out of moneys handed over to it. It will be necessary to ascertain whether the case is one for a grant out of funds of this kind. It is also to be a presupposition in such cases that the needy persons are worthy of a gift to this amount and that by thus giving a large amount once for all the prospect of poor relief may be averted.

48. In addition the poor board have the so-called "Charitable Fund" (*Wohltätigkeitsfonds*) to distribute, which enable them in special cases to assist persons who have been relieved by public relief, or who in the last resort would be relieved, to an extent exceeding the limits laid down for public relief. The applications to be made by the committees to the poor board are to be based on the conditions laid down in sections 110 and 114. To supplement inadequate public relief from these funds is not allowed.

50. The following general principles in granting relief are to be borne in mind:

(1) Public relief must confine itself to providing the absolutely indispensable support. Only so far as a person's own income is insufficient for this purpose is the deficiency to be made good by relief.

(2) The pauper shall not by the grant of relief be placed in a better position than the man who maintains himself by his own free labor. On the other hand, care must be taken that a subsistence worthy of a human being is accorded, and that persons are not permitted to die of hunger by the grant of altogether inadequate relief.

(3) In fixing the kind and amount of relief the first consideration is to be the income derived from the person's labour. The earnings of dependents living with the applicant are to be taken wholly or partly into account. As a rule the earnings of children up to the sixteenth year shall be reckoned as given to their parents in their entirety, in return for lodging, food and clothing. In the case of children over sixteen account is to be taken of the fact that, by too high demands on them, they may be easily induced to leave their homes and betake themselves to a strange lodging. They must therefore be allowed some savings with the object of bettering their own condition, for marrying, etc.; as also some pocket money must be left them for their amusements.

(4) Consideration must be given to the fact of any pension or allowance from corporation, insurance funds, etc.

51. Allowances from endowed charities and private charity generally are to be taken into account in determining permanent relief; but not in such a manner that private charity is thereby restricted and its charitable object defeated. For worthy persons in need, such as widows with children to whom public relief can only afford what is absolutely necessary, private help is desirable to enable them to bring up their children.

53. The warrant conveyed by the terms of section 50 to fix the amount of relief according to the independent judgment of each case, precludes the establishment of a fixed scale of allowance. Thus in the case of first applications it may happen that ordinary relief of a larger amount will be given in cases where the applicant has done his utmost to avoid public relief. At the commencement some holding back is always desirable.

The poor board reserves to itself the power to fix certain maxima of relief in the grant of ordinary relief and foster relief, the exceeding of which needs the sanction of the higher authority.

In the granting of relief for single occasion (*i. e.*, not continuous), the following principles apply:

(a) For persons other than ordinary paupers and persons receiving foster relief:

(1) If the amount shall exceed \$5 then (equally whether the case is an ordinary or an urgent one) the consent of the poor board \* is necessary.

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\* The council of the poor relief circle (*armenkreis*) is now the authority in place of the board. The rates of allowance quoted are in all cases for a month.

(2) In reckoning the \$5 limit no account is to be taken of medical extras or of diet prescribed by the medical officer.

(3) No amount in excess of the \$5 must be actually paid before the board's consent is received.

(4) The grant applies to the full month. If in the course of one month an extra grant is voted which, together with the first already paid, exceeds the \$5 limit, the excess beyond that limit needs the board's sanction.

(5) Allowances exceeding \$7.50 a month require the consent of the president of the board.

(b) Supplementary relief to recipients of ordinary and foster relief:

(1) Supplementary relief to permanent paupers shall only be given when special necessity exists which could not be foreseen when the amount of the ordinary or the foster relief was fixed, particularly in cases of sickness. If the necessity continues the scale of regular relief is to be raised.

(2) Consent of the poor board shall be necessary for the grant of extraordinary relief to recipients of ordinary and foster-relief when the total amount granted (including the regular relief) exceeds in the case of single persons 25s. a month, of a childless married couple, 35s., and of families with children, 40s. a month, and

(3) When such extra relief is voted twice within four months.

#### *Money Relief*

54. Gifts of money form the rule; it is desirable that the necessitous persons should know how to administer the money at his disposal, apart from the fact that he, in most cases, is able to survey the needs of his house better than the officer. Nevertheless the committee shall be authorized, by way of exception, to use the money relief granted wholly or partly for the purchase of food, articles of use, or fuel, if the wasteful habits of the pauper make it probable that the cash will be used in an injudicious manner; especially if in families with many children relief given on behalf of the children must be given to parents who are work-shy or given to drink. In such cases it is also permitted on a decision of the committee to pay the amount granted, whether it is in cash or in kind, not all at once but at certain periods, *e. g.*, weekly, in order to

prevent a too rapid use of the whole, and to be of help to the poor person for a longer period.

The relief in kind shall be entered in the monthly report with the amount of money spent on it. (*cf.* Section 20.) Moreover, with regard to relief in kind, the receipts of the tradesmen are to be subjoined.

Members of the relief committees shall not participate in the purveying for the committees. So far as such relation of purveyor exists at the time of issue of these directions, it is to cease at latest by April 1, 1903.

The granting of a money gift for other objects than those of relief is prohibited. This holds especially as to State and municipal taxes, fees and fines. In such cases, if, for instance, on account of arrears of taxes, distraint is imminent, this is not to be averted by payment on the part of the committee, but the poor board is to be informed and shall seek to induce the tax administration to settle the matter peacefully.

The same holds as regards fees for licenses. If the committee considers a person capable of carrying on a trade, and at the same time so needy that he cannot pay what is due for the license, it must make a suitable proposal which shall be recommended by the poor board for consideration by the police authorities. But such cases must be proceeded with with special care since according to experience the licenses, and among these especially peddler's licenses, are often only used as cloaks for begging.

In the granting of gifts of money for single special objects, the object is to be made clear. It is not permitted to grant permanent relief in order to settle a single item of expense nor, in particular, to grant a smaller monthly relief, distributed over several months, for the adjustment of large arrears of rent already due at the time of the granting of the relief, with concealment of the true circumstances.

55. The money relief shall be divided into "current" or permanent relief (*laufende unterstützung*) and temporary relief (*einmalige unterstützung*). The current relief shall be divided into ordinary relief (*almsen*) and foster relief (*pflegegeld*).

Current relief shall only be granted to those necessitous persons whose circumstances have become known to several members of the committee through their own examination, and a change in whose circumstances cannot be expected in the near future. To this class belong old and industrially incapacitated, physically

or mentally defective, and incurable persons, as also widows with several young children. Moreover, so far as the lack of health of the necessitous person or one of his dependents forms the chief ground of the relief, the opinion of the competent medical officer on the matter is necessary.

As persons temporarily in need are to be considered as all others, even if such relief is repeated; and is also granted little by little for a long time. The requests for a single grant of relief are to be treated with especial care, even if it is a question of comparatively small amounts. Public relief granted for the first time without absolute need is often the first step towards the habit of desiring repeated and permanent relief.

56. Ordinary relief (*almosen*) shall as a rule be granted for the period of a year so far as it is a question of persons who have passed their sixtieth year, or, if younger, are suffering from an incurable, physical or mental affliction, pronounced to be such by a doctor, or whose industrial capacity is permanently impaired. For other persons the grant is only permitted for a period of three months. On the expiration of this period the necessity for continuance is to be examined afresh.

Apart from this, the grounds on which relief, of the same nature and amount as had once been approved, is to be continued are always to be examined afresh.

When apparently chronic illness forms the ground of the relief and the illness is not evident, a medical certificate shall be required often (at least annually).

Important changes in the circumstances of the person relieved can occasion a lowering or raising of the amount of relief or the grant of another kind of relief, especially admission to an institution, orphan-care, educational-care, etc.

Special attention is called to the following important cases:—The remarriage of a widow (in which case as a rule all relief ceases), the death of children who occasioned the grant of relief, or the admission of such children to institutions. A change of sickness into chronic infirmity, the entry of children hitherto compelled to attend school into permanent employment, the return of an absent husband or wife, the receipt of pensions, sickness and invalidity insurance money, etc.

If there is cause for the discontinuance of relief, such discontinuance is not to be delayed till the next sitting of the committee or the conclusion of the month for which the officer has money

in hand already; the relief is to be stopped at once, and the amount unused is to be paid back.

57. Mothers who are not in a position to support their young children receive foster relief. They are to be regarded within the meaning of the instructions as heads of their families and to be entered in the relief lists as receivers of relief.

The following rules are to be attended to in relieving these cases:

(1) Before the grant of relief, the birth certificates of the children who are with the mother are to be produced. With this object the mother shall, so far as she is not already in possession of the certificate, be handed by the competent registry office, for every child, the schedule used for this purpose, stamped and signed, for the purpose of filling it up. For the provision of the birth certificates by outside registry offices the aid of the poor board is to be claimed.

(2) As a rule a healthy and able-bodied woman shall be considered capable of supporting one child without permanent relief. Whether she can support several children without relief will depend on the special circumstances. For example, a woman, who lives with a female dependent (mother or sister) who can care for and look after the children during her absence, will under certain circumstances, not need relief.

(3) The foster-relief shall always be granted for the elder children regularly till the end of their fourteenth year. In the decisions of the committee, the children for whom the relief is granted shall be described exactly, according to name, birthday and school-year. The relief is, therefore, to stop if the child concerned dies, is taken into a special institution, has completed its fourteenth year, etc. If the child leaves school for the first time after the completion of its fourteenth year the time of leaving school determines the discontinuance of relief. But the grant of relief may be continued beyond the time of leaving school if special circumstances make this desirable. Such circumstances are especially weak constitution or sickness of the child, illness of the mother in consequence of which the assistance of the child is required in the house, and such like. The relief is discontinued also if the mother re-marries. Whether with regard to the children ordinary relief is to be granted the step-father, is reserved for special examination.

(4) The amount of the relief depends on the state of health, industrial capacity and industrial circumstances of the mother, as also on the state of health of the child. The relief money, therefore, for several children shall be precisely apportioned. It is also desirable that the mother adapt herself to the amount of the relief given, and that the necessity for granting supplementary relief should be avoided except in quite special cases. Should the mother be permanently incapacitated from work, or considerably restricted in her capacity for work, then in addition to the money for care ordinary relief can also be granted for the woman herself. The payment is made at the same time as the foster-relief and on the same receipt book. In every case in measuring the foster-relief the object shall be to prevent a woman with several children who is quite alone from being forced by too scanty a relief to devote all her time to earning her living by outside work, because by this the health and education of the children would suffer considerable injury.

(5) In the personal book the particulars as to name, age, state of health, etc., school attendance of the children are to be entered in the columns provided, and a current record kept. The conduct of the children inside and outside the house, as also their bringing up by the mother are to be watched carefully. Particular care is to be taken that children are not employed in secondary occupations early in the morning or late at night. If the mother asserts that she cannot exist without these secondary earnings of the child, the point is to be examined carefully, and if the truth of the assertion is proved the foster relief for care is to be increased suitably. The regulations as to the secondary industrial occupations run as follows:

“Children who have not yet completed their ninth year shall not carry on industrial work of any kind whatever away from home. Children who have completed their ninth year but not their fourteenth shall not be employed away from home after 7 P. M., nor, from April till September before 5:30 A. M., nor from October till March before 6:30 A. M. in the carrying of baking wares, milk, papers, or other objects, or in marking or other functions in public houses,

or in any mechanical service at all in an industrial undertaking." (Police Regulation of December 21, 1899.)

(6) The control of school attendance shall hereafter no more be managed by the certificates submitted by the children themselves. In their place a communication is sent by the relief officer to the schoolmaster relating to the children of permanently relieved families attending the school, to which will be subjoined the request to communicate to the committee observations as to lack of attendance at school and other irregularities.

(7) Should complaint be made as to the support of the children by the mother, as to non-attendance at school, roaming about the streets and the like, and warnings to the mother prove fruitless, likewise should the mother lead an immoral life, the poor board is to be notified of this, and at the same time it is to be informed if the taking of the children away from the mother appears desirable.

(8) The existing right of succession of the poor board is to be made known to the mother.

(9) No distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children will be made. But section 60 is to be heeded.

58. Foster-relief can also be given to grandparents, grown-up sisters or other near relatives who will keep the children with them; but relief in these cases is to be entered in the pauper list in the child's own name. Foster-relief is in no case to be given to the father.

59. Married women may be regarded as widows when the husband is for any length of time (*e. g.*, owing to imprisonment) away from the family. Deserted wives are, however, to be relieved with special care; relief should not, at most, be given for more than three months. The poor board is always to be informed in these cases, in order that it may take steps to bring home his liability to the husband.

61. If a mother living in Berlin applies for relief on the ground that she cannot keep her child with her (*e. g.*, if she is in service), then the committee in whose district the mother is living has to investigate the case. If the child is placed out in the same district then the relief can be given on general principles. En-



deavour must always be made to induce the mother to find a foster-home for the child, and to pay at least something towards its keep. If the child is illegitimate the mother must disclose the name of the putative father in her application, and the poor board will assist the mother to prosecute, and will give her a certificate of poverty. The circumstances of the father are to be set out in the schedule of queries on the case. It is to be noted that the mother is entitled before the child is born to apply to the local court to compel the father to deposit a sum of money sufficient to cover the cost of the woman's confinement and the support of the child for the first three months. It is clearly to the interest of both the mother and child and of the Poor Law that the mother should be induced to take these steps.

62. The payment of rent forms part of those necessities for which relief is given, and a pauper should pay his rent out of the relief given him. If, however, a person applies for relief with the object of paying arrears of rent, and the non-payment is likely to lead to eviction from his home, then the committee may pay the arrears if they are not in excess of one month. Payment is made direct to the landlord. Arrears in excess of one month may not be paid by the committee, but such a case may, exceptionally, if the person is specially deserving, be a matter for relief by the poor board out of the charitable funds at its disposal.

63. An applicant for relief who states that he is obliged to leave his house and, in spite of his efforts, cannot obtain another lodging without assistance, may be relieved. If the landlord will consent to give the man another dwelling on condition that a month's rent is guaranteed, the committee may guarantee the rent and pay it to the landlord direct. If the family cannot be thus accommodated, they may be sent temporarily, on a certificate of their homelessness, to the municipal shelter.

65. In regard to special winter relief, the committees must let the board know by a given date in December how many persons will receive this relief. The amount granted to a committee for distribution must on no account be exceeded. The average amount of such relief is fixed at 8s., but may be raised to 10s. if the total amount allocated to the committee permits. Payment is made usually at the time of payment of the January relief. Non-settled poor must not be given this relief.

66. During the cold weather soup tickets are given out under the management of the *Armen-speisungs-anstalt*. This institution, which exists on free charity, but also receives a contribution from the municipality, shall inform the poor board of the number of tickets assigned to it, which are then distributed by the board to the committees. The latter distribute them to the relief officers who give them out as they think fit.

67. The municipal shelters keep also clothes, linen, bed-clothing and household necessities at the disposal of the Poor Law administration. These may be distributed to the poor.

68. The household furniture of poor persons may be temporarily housed in the shelter. This is allowed if the absence of the householder from his house, *e. g.*, in case of admission to a hospital, may be lengthy and he cannot properly himself house his furniture. As an alternative the relief committee may find it preferable to pay the man's rent.

*Sections 100-104.*—[Free burial is provided by the relief committee if the deceased person leaves behind him insufficient means for the purpose and if his relatives cannot provide it.]

*Sections 105-109.*—[To the poor board belongs the right of succession to the entire property of persons who have up to the date of their death been in receipt of permanent relief outside a municipal Poor Law institution, just as a municipal Poor Law institution has the same right of succession in the case of persons dying within its walls, who have been maintained therein free of charge. Only in cases where such person leaves behind him a wife or legitimate children, the latter have right to a portion of the inheritance, but for to make such succession valid the person relieved must make formal statement of his wishes, which must be sent to the president of the relief committee to be attached by him to the man's case-paper.]

In cases where the poor board does not succeed to the pauper's property, the board can claim to be repaid the cost of relief from the estate.]

*Sections 110-115.*—[These sections deal with "certificates of poverty" (*armutzeugnisse*). The president of a relief committee may from his knowledge of the circumstances of a pauper, as disclosed by the ordinary investigation, give a written statement or

certificate as to the person's poverty. A certificate of poverty in the proper sense is granted by the municipal executive, and is evidence that a person cannot in view of the smallness of his resources in relation to his needs and the need of his family, meet the cost of legal expenses.

If private charitable bodies and societies ask the relief committee for information into the poverty of a person applying to them for assistance, the president shall, if he can give the information from the committee's records, and if not he shall have investigation made, and, on the strength of it, give a formal statement of his opinion as to the case. It is clearly in the interest of the Poor Law to assist private charity by furnishing information of his kind.]

*Section 116.*—In accordance with old-established custom a number of relief committees still collect free-will offerings from the inhabitants of their districts which under the name of "collections" (*kostengelder*), are employed by way of charitable gifts rather than as public relief. These offerings are to be collected through the municipal officers and are to be paid into the chief endowment fund account by the president of the committee. Repeated applications for gifts are not to be allowed.

The poor board is to be informed of grants made for the benefit of the poor of a particular district. Grants not so made are to be credited to the board itself.

#### THE POOR RELIEF CIRCLE (ARMENKREIS)

##### *Extracts from the Instructions for the Administration of the Poor Relief Circle, 1902*

1. The poor relief circles shall act as intermediaries (*zischenglieder*) between the relief committees and the poor board, and in this respect the immediate relationship of the president of the circle with the presidents of the relief committees, and the business meetings of the presidents belonging to the circle on the occasions of the general council of the circle will be of service.

2. The president of the circle shall be a voting member of the relief committees belonging to his circle.

In regard to these committees, the president's duty is to supervise the conduct of poor relief, to secure the execution of laws and ordinances enacted on the subject, and generally to maintain poor relief and charity in their due proportions.

3. The president of the circle is entitled to object to the decisions of a relief committee, to suspend their execution temporarily, and temporarily also to initiate a contrary decision, but such decisions must be confirmed at the next meeting of the council of the circle.

### *The Council of the Circle*

1. The council of the circle shall consist of the presidents of the local relief committees belonging to the circle. The poor board has to nominate one of its own members to attend the council, with power to speak and vote.

2. The council is competent to decide:

(a) As to extraordinary relief granted in excess of the scale allowed by the regulations.

(b) As to the grant of ordinary permanent relief (*almosen*), and foster-relief (*pflegegeld*), if it exceeds for a single person 20s., for a married couple without children, and for a family with young children, 36s. a month, and in the case of foster-relief if the grant exceeds 9s. for a single child.

(c) As a court of first instance, as to complaints brought by persons relieved, so far as such complaints are not matters for the whole poor board to decide, and there will only be cases which cannot be postponed till the next meeting of the council of the circle.

(d) As to cases in which the grant of money relief is to be refused on account of the unworthiness of the pauper.

(e) As to cases of permanent relief when the relief granted together with any sickness, invalidity, or old-age insurance money exceeds 25s. for a single person, 35s. for a married couple without children, or 40s. for a family with young children.

(f) To discuss the relative positions of public relief and private charity in the circle, and other matters entrusted to it by the poor board.

3. A relief committee is entitled, if the council of the circle annul one of their decisions, to demand a decision of the poor board.

The poor board has the same right in regard to the decisions of relief committees as the circle council.

4. The council of the circle meets within the first eight days of each month. A majority vote is sufficient for any decision.

#### *Examination of the Monthly Report (Monats Vericht)*

The monthly reports of the relief committees are to be examined by the president of the circle.

The comptroller is entrusted with the work of preliminary examination, and he lays the results of his examination before the president.

The president is not required to examine the monthly report in the spirit of an accountant or of a legal expert, though he may in particular cases call attention to such matters. He shall not examine into the qualification for relief in particular cases, but shall rather form a judgment as to the committees' conduct of business generally, call attention to departures from the poor board's regulations that may come to light, and if necessary acquaint the president of the poor board with them.

He shall also pay attention to important matters, such as the frequent grant of extra relief to persons already permanently relieved, a high rate of occasional relief, a specially lavish use of relief in kind, a high rate of relief to permanent paupers, and one in excess of the average rate given by other committees, the grant of outdoor relief where indoor relief should have been given, etc.

He shall also pay attention to the general conduct of business by each committees, the number of their meetings, attendance of members, the proportion of paupers to members, and shall consider whether owing to the increase or decrease of pauperism, a committee's district should be sub-divided or amalgamated with a neighboring district.

The comptroller must assist in furnishing the president with information that will enable him to form an opinion on these matters.

*Extracts from the General Instructions for Outdoor Relief*  
(1903)

(i.) *Orphan Children and Children relieved singly.*

87. Besides orphan children in the strict sense, *i. e.*, children who have lost both parents, orphan relief (*weisenpflege*) may be granted to:

(1) Children whose parents are, owing to such absence as promises to be protracted, to disappearance, infirmity or a lengthy term of imprisonment, unable to provide for them.

(2) Children whose parents, either father or mother, have been judicially deprived of their parental rights.

88. Children living with their parents may not as a rule be given orphan relief. A deserted wife or widow who cannot maintain her children may be given ordinary relief under Sections 56-60.

In the case of an able-bodied man temporary relief only may be given (under Sections 41 and 54). The fact that the man is out during the day at work is not of itself to be regarded as sufficient ground for admitting the child to orphan relief.

89. Widows and women living alone with a family of small children are much hindered in following their work by having to look after their children. It is to the interest of the Poor Law to see that the child is taken to a *creche* or nursing home, a kindergarten school, etc., or that children are left with neighbours. The relief committee is permitted to give public relief in such cases to enable the child to be taken in.

90. If the parents' absence (*see* Section 87) is only for a short time, the relief committee shall provide for the children's maintenance with relatives or neighbours in return for a small allowance. Only if the parents absence is continued, shall the child be admitted to orphan relief.

91. Applications for orphan relief are to be considered by the relief committee in ordinary session. The decision of the committee is to be communicated to the poor board for its assent and for further instructions. Communication direct with the orphan administration (*Waisenverwaltung*) is only allowed in the exceptional case referred to in the next section.

92. Children who, through sudden and unforeseen circumstances, such as death, arrest, severe illness, desertion of parents or relations, by whom the children are supported are suddenly reduced to want, may be admitted direct to the orphan depot (*Waisen depot*).

93. Applications for the admission of children are to be made to the committee in whose district the parents live. When foster-parents who have children in their care, and who cannot continue to give them maintenance, or cannot do so without payment, make application, they are to be told that the parents or the living parent must apply in the district where they live. Only when the foster-parents have reason to believe that the residence of the parent is quite unknown or that they are altogether lost or are inmates of a prison or hospital, etc., is the application to be allowed to be made by the foster-parents.

94. Idiotic, epileptic and feeble-minded children may be admitted to the municipal idiot asylums or to the private asylums with which the poor board has contracted. This course may be followed both in the case of children who are wholly imbecile who need constant care, as also in the case of the feeble-minded, who, with proper training, are capable of learning some useful handicraft. The committee must fully inquire into the circumstances, and address an application to the poor board which decides.

94. Blind children may be taken into the municipal school for the blind. Application is to be made by the parents to the school committee of the town council.

95. Deaf and dumb children may be relieved in the same manner in the deaf and dumb school.

(ii.) *Neglected Children.*

(*See also Appendix IV., Section III.*)

96. Children and young persons who are neglected, or whose neglect is feared, may under the prescribed conditions be taken from the domestic control of their parents, foster-parents or special guardians, and admitted into family care (*i. e.*, boarded-out), or into institutions. The relief committees shall give their special attention to these cases, and if the conditions are fulfilled, they

shall give information to the poor board for further instructions. If the parents or foster-parents of such children apply for relief, then they are to be induced voluntarily to surrender the children to orphan relief. If this cannot be brought about, they are to be threatened with discontinuance of the relief and, if necessary, this course is to be carried out. In such case the resolution of refusal of relief is to be laid before the poor board for further instructions and, in urgent cases, otherwise than in the committee's monthly report. But deprivation of parental rights is to be effected through the court of guardianship, not through the poor board.

98. Young persons, who have not yet reached their majority, may, apart from the cases mentioned in Section 96, under special circumstances such as bodily infirmity, mental deficiency for education, "work-shyness" and similar causes, may be admitted to orphan relief.

Applications in cases of this kind are to be addressed to the poor board—not to the orphan relief administration, and the board will undertake further investigation, and will according to the nature of the case arrange for the admission of such young persons to orphan relief or to private institutions with which it may have contracted for the purpose.

#### Dr. Munsterberg

As previously mentioned, Dr. Münsterberg, the famous organizer of the Elberfeld System, has been regarded as one of the greatest authorities on the subject of poor relief in the world. I believe it is safe to say that the present German system of relief was largely influenced by the years of work of this one man. During his life he paid several visits to this country, and made exhaustive reports of a comparison of our systems.

To Dr. Oscar Münsterberg, his brother, I am indebted for considerable of the information regarding his brother's activities, and also for the following comprehensive discussion of the subject.

This work was written by Dr. Munsterberg over ten years ago, and I quote it here especially since the relation of "private charity" and "public charity" in United States is very much



the same to-day, and in the hope of a possible change in that relationship — more particularly the accounting of private charities, to the State of moneys collected publicly for charitable purposes.

The claim of the widow and her children is very ably represented by Dr. Münsterberg, as well as the particular need of public relief where such a case as hers is involved — *e. g.*, the necessitous and which also must of its nature, be continuous.

That the laws of Germany in this connection, as well as the relationship of private charities to public has materially changed as he had described, since this writing of Dr. Münsterberg, is also evident from the preceeding laws. But not so with America; the progress of administration of public poor relief is not so evident in the United States.

#### Widows and Family Life Generally

As to the claim of widows and family life generally, Dr. Münsterberg made the following statements as stated ten years ago.

“ So long as we do not insure widows and orphans against the loss of husband and father, upon whom they depend for support, we cannot think of abandoning them to the chance of private charity. Then, too, the public care for the sick and infirm should not only be maintained, but extended by every possible means. These things offer very little opportunity for fraud or abuse, for their external characteristics are far more easily recognized than a mere want of the means of subsistence. Moreover, the misuse of accommodations and arrangements for the sick is not so likely to work harm as is fraud in the disposition of public moneys.

“ It is as true of America as of England that the care of children belongs to the most promising field of relief effort. The arrangements for children correspond to those in other lands: Institutional care in great orphanages, of which America possesses some of the first rank (institutional system); or in small homes (home system); family care (boarding and out); and the union of both the latter systems by reception of the children at first in a central place, and their transfer hence to family care, the so-called State public-school system, or the Michigan system, be-

cause it was first applied in Michigan, and now enjoys a great reputation in America. Along the exclusively public and exclusively private care of children exists the system of subsidies from public means to private institutions.

"More and more the system of family care gains in importance, although at first it was hindered in the attempt to remove children from poorhouses by the tendency to replace poorhouses with special institutions for children. At this point we see a phenomenon similar to that in France at the introduction of the tours; that is, an extraordinary increase in the number of children who were thrown upon public relief.

"The number of children received for public help about doubled in twenty years, between 1875 and 1895, while the increase of population was only 38 per cent. In the feeling of compassion for the miserable condition of the children, little thought was given to an investigation of their need. This also has been improved in recent years.

"In America, as in Germany, there is much discussion of the advantages of institutional relief as compared with family care, as appears in the extensive literature in Germany at the beginning of the last century. In the reports of the State boards and in the National Conference the subject is more or less fully discussed. Theoretically the victory may be said to belong to family care; its advantages are thoroughly discussed by Mathews:

"Life in a family, especially in a well-ordered rural family, prepares the child for life far more satisfactorily than is possible in an institution. In an institution the children are taught rather too much of heavenly and too little of earthly things. The atmosphere is only too well adapted to train them in dependence. Shelter is provided; food is always ready; clothing, good beds, warm rooms are at their disposal, without the least thought or care on the part of the children."

"Altogether different is family care. It is said in a report of Illinois in 1899:

"In a real domestic household all members of a family are bound together by reciprocal ties. In the nature of family life, persons help each other and make sacrifices in turn. There is the great world in small, and the relations of the members to each other correspond in those which the child will find in later years in society. It is a workplace, a school of labor, where daily practice in household duties prepares the child for further duties."

"Family life alone can teach the children self-control, submission to the conditions of practical life, and capacity for independent action. From the standpoint of poor relief, we mention also the advantage that family care is essentially cheaper than that of the institution. If there is a reasonably general agreement that family care is theoretically the best form, this does not imply that institutions in a certain measure may not be accepted, and least of all requires us to shut our eyes to the dangers of inadequate family care.

"Institutions are most of all necessary for the reception of children, to observe them and to select for them suitable homes. There are many children who, on account of their character, or on account of physical or psychical defect, are not adapted to home life, or proper families cannot be found in which to place them.

"By the extension of the group system in the larger institutions, and by the erection of homes, the danger which attends institutional care is materially diminished. The dangers of inadequate family care are very thoroughly proved in the reports of several authors.

"The conduct of the society which called itself the Home Society of New York concentrated public attention on this evil; in 1898 I made a report upon it. But similar proceedings have come to light in other cities. The requirements for avoiding these dangers, which have been unanimously agreed upon in the English system of family care, and have been repeatedly discussed in the German society, are careful testing of the institutions and as careful of supervision.

"The societies, apart from their own enterprises, give none of

their own means for support, but seek to investigate cases referred to them, and to secure means in individual cases, and to refer cases for further aid to other institutions which stand in close relations with them. The question whether the societies really adhere to this principle was discussed in the National Conference of 1900 in connection with the report by Wilson. Wilson said emphatically that the Charity Organization Society should not regard itself as an independent relief agency, since then its effort to unite all relief societies would thereby be injured, and the essential purposes of the society would be neglected.

"It is worthy of note that the conviction is growing that private charity cannot meet great demands simply with voluntary helpers. Therefore, the greater portion of the expenses is paid for salaries and office expenses. In New York, out of \$58,600, \$15,761 was given for this object; in Boston, \$17,000 out of \$22,500; in Buffalo, \$2,595 out of \$8,096; in Baltimore, the expenditures, \$10,719, were solely for salaries and office expenses, and the report declares that it is not a question of a relief fund, but of means to do the work described. In the same report, it is remarked, that the first condition of success is to pay a just market price for a first-class agent.

"Here (in Germany), as well as in other highly civilized countries, the principle of anonymity has been entirely abrogated; foundlings, i. e., children who are found entirely helpless, and whose parentage is really unknown, are comparatively very rare. Whenever a child is received into a charitable institution its personal relations are fully established. It is attempted, wherever possible to leave a child in its natural surroundings — to return it to its parents, or to its mother.

"Only when domestic relations and domestic environment prove such as would expose the child to too great danger, the child is cared for by public charity, which in the matter of care for helpless children, is now usually exercised by placing them in good healthy homes (*Familienpflege*). As a rule a child is first placed in an institution which serves the purpose of a temporary home. Here the children are carefully observed, and every effort made, particularly in the case of older ones, to determine whether they

are better adapted for care in an orphanage or in a private family (*Anstalts oder Familienpflege*).

"The orphan board (*Waisenverwaltung*) has connections with number of respectable families, mostly in the country; to these the children are entrusted, certain fixed rates being paid for their keeping. When so placed, the child is under the guardianship of an inspector, usually a local clergyman or teacher, who may in the case of necessity, return it to the orphanage. Here as elsewhere, experience has taught that cases of total depravity are rare.

"Most of these children improve immediately when placed in healthy and new surroundings. Thus nearly all of the orphanage work has taken the form of family care (*Familienpflege*), which has given by far the most satisfactory results in the matter of development of character. The sick, frail, and the feeble-minded, are placed in separate institutions, which afford such care and instruction as the nature of the malady may permit or demand. Institutions for the care and keeping of the children while the mother is away at work are not maintained by the public relief. This department is left entirely to private charities, which are sometimes assisted by public appropriations.

#### **The Relation of Public and Private Charity Discussed by Dr. Münsterburg**

"One thing must still be demanded on both sides of the Atlantic; the respective provinces of public poor relief and of private charities must be defined as clearly and as carefully as possible; furthermore, there must be established between the two a definite and well-ordered relation. This is recognized, in Germany, as the aim and the goal of relief work. To begin at two extremes one might say: Essentials, necessities of life, are to be supplied by public charity, while the furnishing of useful or unnecessary things or even luxuries, shall remain the province of private charities.

"How much shall be included in the "essentials" must, of course, depend upon circumstances; in regard to the necessity of animal food or of wearing shoes, for instance, a small rural community will entertain opinions differing widely from those held by the inhabitants of a large city, where barefoot children are not allowed in school and consequently the wearing of shoes becomes a necessity.

"To decide further than this what particular work shall be done by public relief and what left to private charities, will always remain a very difficult matter. In most cases it will be a question of actual conditions: the one branch will have taken charge, to a greater or less degree, if this or that department, from which the other branch will then keep more or less aloof. In any case the commune should be thoroughly familiar with such institutions as already exist, and should carry on the extension of its own efforts accordingly.

"It is also very desirable that the two branches arrive at some mutual understanding and agreement as to who shall be entitled to aid, under what conditions, etc. The constant annoyance occasioned by shameless imposters, who now manage to secure duplicate or excessive allowances, could be avoided by keeping a careful registration of all those who receive aid and throwing the register open for the free use of all interested. In Hamburg such a bureau of names of all those who receive public aid or are supported in charitable institutions are recorded.

"Attempts to secure the co-operation of the various charitable organizations as well as of individual philanthropists in this matter have met with little encouragement. Similar experiments have been tried in other cities, but their success is very doubtful, for private charity organizations are very loath to reveal the names of their beneficiaries, and, besides, unsystematic and planless almsgiving is yet too prevalent.

"It is clear that in the work of establishing proper relations between public and private charity the education of the benevolent public will be one of the most important factors. What Warner says in regard to public poor-relief in America — "It is time for us to stop bragging and humbly to take up the study of the science and art of administration" — may be applied equally as well to the majority of the institutions of private charity in Germany. It is really time that the study of the science of poor-relief be taken up by philanthropists in this country (Germany).

"It is a plain fact that a sort of strange sentimentality is exceedingly predominant; a certain softness of heart which impels those whom it possesses to do something for their unfortunate and suffering fellow-men, without, however, trying to ascertain what

is really needful to be done. Above all else it is essential that we break completely with the notion that poor-relief and philanthropy are in themselves meritorious.

"We must teach, and thoroughly convince everyone of the fact, that the first thing necessary is to find out the causes of poverty — that those measures which aim to set the poor and needy dependent on his feet again and to make him independent are of far greater value than all the beneficence in the world, however good its intentions.

"House-owners who make regular contributions to charitable societies must understand clearly that they will be doing a great deal more for suffering humanity if they cease to rent poor and unhealthy dwellings; employers must learn the necessity of protecting their employees against dangerous and injurious occupations by suitable hours of work and such other measures of precaution; and all others must be made to comprehend the seemingly very simple truth that the possession of a healthy body is worth more than the nursing of a sick one in the most magnificent hospital.

"In other words, poor-relief must become the social science; its proper exercise can be understood only by a comparative study of economic and social life. We know that no social effort can or will succeed in making poor-relief and philanthropy superfluous, within such a time as lies open to our present vision. But relief work would no doubt be performed far more thoroughly and more intelligently if those engaged in it know and realize that their work is to be for others, not for themselves. The essence of poor-relief is not the gratification of one's self-esteem by giving alms, but the complete resignation, sacrifice of self in the service of others.

"All theoretical investigations based on a large practical experience must lead to the same conclusions, at least in all essential points, and it is a matter of indifference whether this experience is gained in England or in America, in Germany, or in France. We are not dealing with an empty phrase when we speak of universal principles, founded, not upon territorial and local customs and conditions, but on human nature, though a considerable importance does, of course, attach to these customs and conditions.

"The Elberfeld system will prove, on closer examination, to be not an arbitrary one, the sudden invention of a shrewd brain; in the main it is a renewal of principles which were actually practiced by the primitive church, which are clearly expressed in the poor regulations of the time of the Reformation, and which toward the close of the eighteenth century, were again unearthed and given universal recognition.

"It is merely because Elberfeld revived these sound fundamental principles, after a period of mismanagement, and applied them with such remarkable success that we speak of the Elberfeld System as a new acquisition and as being, per se, the correct and proper system of present-day poor relief. The first of these fundamental principles is that poor relief must be individualized, i. e., the aid given to each person must correspond in its character, its amount, etc., to the peculiar needs of the individual.

"This of itself implies the further principle, that in order to be practical, poor relief must be a personal transaction from man to man. Any system which attempts to treat all exactly alike must be rejected. This again forbids receiving all applicants, without distinction, into almshouses, or taking children into nurseries without a careful examination of all circumstances connected with the case, or giving aid to unknown persons, or treating the able-bodied and those incapable of work exactly alike.

"The first and greatest result of the adoption of this principle of individualization was that those practicing charity in any form learned to adapt their gift to the circumstances of a particular case; to give work instead of money, or refuge and care in an institution in preference to work; or, where the circumstances of the case required it, even to mete out punishment instead of aid.

"This again made it necessary for the system to demand that before the nature and the amount of the aid were decided upon, the condition and circumstances of the applicant should be carefully examined by impartial and disinterested persons.

"If Elberfeld and other German communities were able to find among their citizens men to whom the duty of such examination and the administration of charities could be entrusted, by a system of honor offices, this fact is to be attributed to certain peculiar characteristics of the life of the German community.



" The difference is to be found not so much in the results of a public and private charity, as in the motives, and in the difference which exists between public and private institutions in general. In themselves the various arrangements are all alike; the dollar received through the public charity looks exactly like that given by a private individual; the bed in a public hospital does not differ from that in a private institution, except that the furnishings in a private institution, such as the " Girard College," are likely to be far more elegant than those of a public institution can ever be.

" In France and Italy, as well as in Alsace-Lorraine, the so-called voluntary system is in vogue, i. e., poor relief is not enjoined upon the state of law; and yet the state and the community do very much, for the private charities of the *bureaux de bienfaisance* are by no means able to meet the needs, and but for the assistance of the public authorities in poor relief, actual loss of life, physical destruction of the inhabitants, must result, a condition which the state could never tolerate. In France the departments, together with the state on one hand, and with the commune on the other, are legally responsible for the care of the infirm, the feeble-minded, and the children.

" The relation of public relief to private charities has, so far as I can see, been even less carefully defined in Germany than in America. In this point also I am in perfect accord with Warner, who has correctly apprehended their respective provinces. Here again the difference lies not in the general principles recognized in the two countries, but in historic development and actual, existing conditions. (This condition has materially been changed in the last 10 years and the relation of private and public relief is now most marked.)

" The very thing, which in Germany, renders the participation of the citizen in public relief so valuable is, on the other hand, a hindrance to the development of private charities; while the very circumstances which have impeded the growth of public relief in America have quickened private charities in a most unusual degree. The activity of the German citizen in relief work is a voluntary contribution toward the burdens of the commune; the American makes his contributions in the form of direct private charity.

“While the German demands that the portion of the public funds to be devoted to poor relief be turned over to him, and expended by him as he shall judge best, the well-to-do American provides himself with a somewhat larger income, and also expends it according to his own judgment. The only difference is, that in Germany the burdens of the public relief are borne by all taxpayers equally, while in America the beneficent and philanthropic man bears a greater share than the egotist, and the latter is relieved at the expense of the former.

The very fact that the public funds are at the disposal of the visitor and helper, without restrictions, goes far toward discouraging private charity, and makes a limitation rather than an extension of public relief seem desirable in Germany. In this connection it should be borne in mind that as already pointed out above, the work of the public relief does not differ in the least from that of private charities, so far as the nature of the work is concerned; the dollar of the one looks exactly like the dollar of the other. The difference lies not in the gift, but in the motive of the giver and in the attendant circumstances.

“An event of very deep import must be mentioned which illustrates the danger which seriously threatens one of the most vital functions of the state board — the oversight of private charities. It has importance for the other American states and is of interest far beyond the American borders. The law relating to the State board contains in section 4 the language: To visit and inspect any charitable, eleemosynary, correctional, or reformatory institution in this state, except prisons, whether receiving state aid or maintained by municipalities or otherwise.

“In these words the State board had regarded itself as authorized to inspect the working of all charitable arrangements. When the board desired in 1899 to inspect the building of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, they were refused access on the ground that this society did not belong in the class of charitable institutions. The State board, proceeding from the belief that the society belonged in the highest sense of the word to benevolent institutions — and, by the way, it is really a very beneficent work — applied to the attorney-general in order to enforce its rights.

Both parties appealed from the first decision, which suited neither of them, to the court, which unanimously supported the claim of the State board. Upon this the society appealed (on some ground), and then followed a decision of Judge O'Brien, to which three judges agreed and from which a minority of them dissented, to the effect that the society was not a "charitable institution," was not under the supervision of the State board, and that their power extended only to such institutions as were partly or entirely supported by the State.

"This decision excited both anxiety and indignation in the State Board and in the minds of many persons who are convinced of the necessity of rigorous State supervision. The State Board gives detailed information in regard to the affair. In various places, as in the *Quarterly Record* (June, 1900) and in the *National Bulletin of Charities and Correction* (August, 1900), Homer Folks and W. R. Stewart discuss the matter thoroughly and explain the effect of the judicial decisions. Stewart especially deals with the question of supervision in its historical development and theoretical and practical importance, with the help of the entire materials of the judicial decisions.

"The practical significance lies in the result that this declaration of the highest court must have as a consequence a complete change in the practice of the State Board, and that many of the institutions which have hitherto submitted without objection to the supervision must now be withdrawn. While the board at the end of 1899 had inspected over 1,200 benevolent agencies, from this time 663 must be withdrawn because they are supported simply from private means and perform no public function.

"Among these are 47 asylums, 74 homes for the aged, 35 institutions for children, 63 general hospitals, etc. The very useful statistics relating to all the institutions which have been published by the board must be abandoned. The board, in whose quarterly report this discussion appears, very naturally expresses deep regret at this turn in affairs, which must result in public injury. The argument is significant, not only from the New York administration, but in relation to public supervision generally.

"As a matter of fact, the effects are already noticeable in the refusal of several societies to receive inspectors. In vain the State

Board sought in the year past by legal means to obtain aid. One bill was introduced with the special object of requiring inspection of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty, and another aim in general to extend the rights and duties of the State Board to benevolent agencies which received no public subsidy, in cases where the State Board had previously gained the consent of the administrators of these societies.

"Both these bills were defeated by the opposition of the president of the society already mentioned, while at the same time a new bill limited the right to supervise the State Home for Soldiers and Sailors. We must join the State Board and its friends in expressing the hope that the decision of the highest court may be rendered harmless by the enactment of a law which will subject all charitable agencies to control.

"The sound societies have no occasion to shun the light of publicity while the corrupt can be unmasked only by this means. In my report of 1898 I have given a very concrete example of this latter kind of charity, of which all countries have their share.

"In very happy contrast with the attitude of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty is that of another great private society, the State Charities Aid Association of New York, which was founded in 1872 with the object of doing all that unselfish citizens can do to improve the administration of public institutions. To Germans it seems a very unusual proceeding to organize a private charity to labor for the better administration of public institutions; it is explained by the peculiar American conditions. As a matter of fact, the influence of the society is considerable.

"Against the extension of legal outdoor relief the argument is often urged that it represses private benevolence, or at least makes its task appear less exigent. Among recognized authorities Dr. Walk, of Philadelphia, declared that no need has been felt in his city for restoring municipal outdoor relief, and that private benevolence was entirely adequate. Miss Richmond of Baltimore, thinks that the anxiety about doing away with this system may be compared to the dread of bringing infants out of overheated rooms into the fresh air.

"Wilson remarks in his report (National Conference, 1900) that he had made inquiries of many charity workers in smaller

cities in order to learn their opinions and experience, and that almost all had expressed themselves as favorable to charity outdoor relief, although some believed that they must defer the entire abolition of outdoor relief on account of the special circumstances of their community.

"I have laid emphasis upon this remark, because in Germany also the facts again and again awaken similar reflections. Very often the American reports pay us the compliment of saying that our individualizing and honor-office system, or of both in reciprocal relations, is, as Henderson rightly remarks, a question of practical administration whose success depends upon the value of its organs. The apprehension in respect to admission of legal outdoor relief is therefore doubtless connected with the conditions in the administration of relief, as I have described them above, and which on the whole, justify the opinion: "Public agencies, as we know them, cannot individualize."

"The subject was thoroughly discussed in the National Conference, May, 1901, in connection with the report of F. H. McLean, which treated the conditions in Montreal, where public relief is entirely wanting.

"It was argued that private charity alone is unable to fulfill the duties of poor relief, that it would even be demoralized and its principal task be neglected, if it were compelled to do that for which by its nature it is not suited. There was a decided tendency to favor public poor relief in all those cases in which a careful control of personal conduct is necessary, while private charity is better adapted to the cases in which free activity is possible.

"Fundamentally this is the principle of division which is actually made in Germany, although here the laws go much farther in the promotion of general poor relief. It is well worth noting and is applicable to conditions outside America also, that private charity itself, where it conducts the entire business of poor relief, as in Montreal, may, quite as much as public relief, degenerate into unreflected routine.

"A peculiar position is occupied by the United Jewish Charities in New York, which in 1899 celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. It grew out of the same discovery of unsystematic and divided charity to which the Charity Organization Society owed

its origin; and after the experience of a quarter of a century it declares with satisfaction that its efforts have contributed materially to the diminution of these evils; but at the same time it expresses the wish to have more means and more personal service at its disposal.

"It also has a number of standing committees and a number of institutions of its own, among which an educational institution for girls and an employment bureau are conspicuous. The entire expenditure was \$136,332, of which \$15,949 was spent on salaries, \$5,463 on office expenses, and \$1,451 to maintenance of the house which was given to the association by a benevolent person.

"In single gifts for support was expended \$41,061, in continuous support \$21,938, and for transportation \$15,732. In order to form a judgment regarding the help rendered, a careful study was made of 1,000 cases for the period 1894 to 1899; from which it appeared that only 70 persons continued to receive aid, while the greater part, though not statistically measured, had become self-supporting. In 1898, 5,387 places were found, over against 9,701 applications.

"According to this account there are, in America, 107 settlements; in England, 38; Scotland, 5; France, 5; Japan, 2; Austria, 2; Germany, Holland, India, and Australia, 1 each. In London there are 30; New York, 27; Chicago, 17; Boston, 11. The statistics are evidently imperfect so far as foreign countries are concerned, but even for America they are of no special importance, since there many institutions are called settlements which we comprehend under simpler names; since kindergartens, nurseries, and associations for amusements, etc., have been designated settlements.

"At all events, the name is of but little moment. The important thing is — and here lies the significant and effective element for the field of poor relief — that an approach of the prosperous and less fortunate classes is brought about, and all means are employed to create a condition in which poor relief and charity shall be displaced by self-help and neighborly co-operation."

#### **General German Poor Relief According to Münsterburg**

"In order to understand German poor relief we must call to mind the fact that throughout Germany, with the exception of

Alsace-Lorraine, the care for the poor is made a legal obligation. This obligation is enjoined upon communes, municipalities, and communal corporations in such a way that no person, whether he be a German or a foreigner, shall, in the hour of need, be without appropriate and suitable aid, wherever he may be. Every commune therefore, has its organization for poor relief (*Armenverband*) which must furnish appropriate aid, without any regard to the political or civil connections of the recipient.

"In order that this duty may not become too heavy a burden upon those localities where the poor and needy are wont to concentrate, the law requires that the community granting the aid shall be reimbursed by that commune in which the recipient (if he have wife and family with him) has last been in continuous residence for a period of two years.

"We recognize in the organization three points of importance: (a) individualization, (b) the helpers have a voice in the determination of means, etc., (c) decentralization. The first is attained by a division of the entire city into quarters, such that each shall not contain more than four dependents (individuals or heads of families), and the placing of each quarter under the supervision of a helper. The helper (*Armenpfleger*) is the chief organ of poor relief; it is his duty to visit the poor of his quarter at regular intervals, to keep himself constantly informed as to their circumstances, and to exert an educational and refining influence over them and their families.

"He is to be their friend and adviser, and is to insist upon discipline and order. Ill-disposed and lazy persons it is their duty to report to the authorities for legal prosecution. The arrangement which gives the helpers the decision as to manner and amount of the aid is this: the quarters are grouped into circuits or districts; the helpers of a circuit have regular meetings for the purpose of discussing the work, taking counsel, and deciding on the amount, the kind, and duration of the assistance to be given. At the head of each such circuit there is a superintendent or inspector (*Vorsteher*) who presides over and directs the proceedings of the circuit and negotiates between the helpers and the central board.

"The central administrative board (*Hauptverwaltung*) is composed of a representative of the city administration (*Stadtver-*

waltung) and of members of the city council. It has in charge the general direction of poor relief, the control of the decision and resolutions of the circuits, the making of general regulations affecting all quarters, the supervision of institutional and hospital relief, etc. Moreover, it is the duty of this central board to search out the causes of poverty, to acquaint itself with the conditions of the poorer classes, to prepare and direct measures of a general nature, to see that the means at disposal are wisely used — in short, to attend to everything not directly connected with passing upon the individual case.

“ Their control over the proceedings of the circuit, therefore, does not imply a suspicious scrutinizing of each individual case, but is merely to give them an opportunity to see, in a general way, that the principles laid down in the poor laws are being carried out. The validity of the decisions of the circuit is not dependent on the approval of the board.

“ Where, as in Hamburg — and in this respect Hamburg probably comes nearer the American form of government than any other German city — the local government has for centuries controlled all public offices, and has never paid any of its poor relief officials except the lowest clerks; here it was found necessary to add a number of more highly trained officials. Perhaps it is for this very reason that the Hamburg reforms excited a considerate interest in America, because it not only attempts an appropriate reform of the general system of poor relief, but also seeks to harmonize the work of the professional (salaried) officers and that of the honor offices, and to supplement the one by the other.

“ Hamburg, therefore, as well as Berlin, Leipsic, and Dresden, has adopted the district system (Bezirkssystem). Here the district includes quite a number of streets and places. The district assembly or council is made up of the district superintendent or chairman (Bezirksvorsteher) and a number of helpers, varying with the needs of the district — usually not under twelve, under no circumstances more than twenty. But none of these helpers has, at the outset, any relation to a particular house or its occupants.

“ On the contrary, every applicant for aid must first present himself to the district chairman (Vorsteher), who refers him, by



means of an application blank, to one of his helpers; this helper then is obliged to examine into the case, supply any urgent and immediate need, and report at the next district assembly. Usually the case will be left in his charge for further treatment as long as the dependent continues to reside in his district; the case may, however, be given to another helper for further treatment.

"The advantage of this dividing of dependents among the several helpers by the superintendent lies in the fact that the latter can employ all his helpers, not only in the same degree, but also each one according to his ability, without giving to all an equal number of cases. He will be able to give one living very near at hand more cases than he gives to one living at some distance, more to a man of considerable leisure than to a very busy man; to entrust to some very energetic person the investigation of a case demanding a great deal of energy, and to refer cases of aged people or children, where a tender heart is not so likely to be taken undue advantage of, to some tender-hearted person.

"Thus a superintendent is able to meet every need of a case, and at the same time to prevent the overburdening of certain helpers; he can also change helpers in a case, placing a dependent, either successfully or simultaneously, under the charge of several helpers, etc. This system which is very elastic, has proved extraordinarily successful in Hamburg."

#### **United States Poor Relief According to the Royal Commission of England**

That the findings of Dr. Münsterberg are similar to those of the Royal Commission of England, is strongly apparent in the exhaustive report of this body made in 1906. The following is quoted from that work:

A critical summary of the system or systems of poor relief in the United States is almost an impossibility. While a few States, such as New York and Massachusetts, have developed something approaching an organization, a majority of the States are still in the fortunate position of not having reached the stage of development at which an organized Poor Law is a necessity.

The lack of organization shows itself noticeably in the personnel of relief administration. In a few States relief is admin-

istered by overseers or other officers specially appointed for the purpose, but "in a majority of the commonwealths relief is administered by officers as one, and a minor one, of their many duties \* \* \* by councilmen, select men, township trustees, county commissioners, justices of the peace, and county judges who are not elected for the purpose." \* The officers are either elected or appointed for short terms, one or three years as a rule, and their practical acquaintance with the work of poor relief is necessarily limited. Their main responsibility is financial, except in so far as their acts may render them liable to judicial action owing to an infringement or non-observance of the settlement laws, or the laws and rules as to the grant of out-relief.

The efficiency of the administration is further gravely affected by what is known as the "spoils system," under which every office open to appointment in the poor law service, as in every other local service, is made the reward of the political party in office for the time being. As a result of this system not only the appointed overseers, superintendents of relief and other officers responsible for out-relief, but the managers and superintendents and subordinate officers of institutions are liable to be changed without regard to their positions or efficiency. The reality of the spoils system is admitted on all hands, and may readily be inferred from the desperate devices resorted to in order to counteract it. Thus it is not uncommon to find corporate bodies responsible for relief administration, such as county boards for the management of children's homes, or other institutions, and State boards of charities, avowedly constituted on "bi-partisan" lines. A more effective method of counteracting the spoils system is to require that the officers shall belong to the permanent Civil Service of the State, appointed on the results of a competitive examination, and removable only for misconduct. This plan is now being adopted in several States, though it meets with much opposition. A report† by the New York State Board throws an instructive light on this difficulty. In the course of some remarks from which it appears that the State Civil Service Commission had, with the Governor's consent, extended the Civil

\* Millis, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. III.

† Fortieth Annual Report, p. 24.

Service rules to various subordinate officers in the county Poor Law administration, the State Board observe: "One of the principal reasons why the service in the almshouses has not improved more rapidly is to be found in the frequent changes, mainly for political reasons, of expert matron." An authority on American poor relief\* observes, of the spoils system, that "it has wrought havoc among the public relief institutions of the States." There is, however, evidence that the "merit system" of appointment, combined with some guarantee of tenure for officers, is slowly being adopted by the more advanced States.

The deficiency of organization is reflected in, as well as, to some extent, attributable to the uncertainty and want of form in most of the State laws regarding poor relief. In those states which have general laws at all, these laws are more concerned with the legal definition of settlement, or of the responsibility of, and recovery from, relatives, than with the machinery of relief. The provision of general Poor Law institutions is too frequently permissive, not mandatory. In most of the laws, indeed, the intention is plainly to settle juristic matters, while assuming that the administration of relief may be left to the local officials and their masters, the town or county boards. The only exception is the consistency with which they restrict outdoor aid and insist on institutional relief.

With the creation of the first State Board in 1863, and the subsequent adoption of a central authority for poor relief in other States, the first step was taken towards remedying some of the worst consequences of the want of organization in the Poor Law. The State Boards have powers amounting usually to little more than those of inspection, but they are able effectively to bring matters needing reform to the notice of the responsible local authorities and to pillory the recalcitrant. In this way it is admitted on all hands that much has been accomplished. In their annual reports the best State Boards discuss broadly the needs of the Poor Law Service generally, and they have been able, in

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\* Henderson, *Modern Methods of Charity*, p. 404. See also on this subject the Reports of the National Conference of Charities and Correction for 1888, 1889, and 1900.

many instances, to promote useful legislation for branches of the Poor Law.

But the lack of system in American Poor Law gives it in many respects a special interest. The various States, ranging from the early settled New England States to the newly peopled western States, are in all stages of development. Relief work, it is evident from the wide extent of published literature, meets with ready interest, and in this sphere the States show a characteristic readiness to try experiments. The developments to which attention may be drawn, are more particularly: (a) The assumption by the State of the relief of certain classes, mainly the defective; (b) the county system; and (c) the extent to which charity has been made to subserve the purposes of public relief.

In those States where the State has taken any direct share in the work of poor relief it will be seen from what has been said that, apart from State relief of persons who have no ascertainable settlements in the State, the energies of the State have been directed to providing for those physically and mentally defective poor for whom the local organization was usually inadequate. The blind, deaf and dumb have been provided for by the State in more than half the States, and it is noteworthy that this movement has taken the wise line of providing for the afflicted at the age at which they can be educated. It is the exception for the States to provide for adults of these classes. The provision by the State for the insane needs no comment: it is paralleled in most civilized countries.

The county system, as regards poor relief generally, was perhaps derived from the English system of quarter sessions, in any case it was in the first instance applied to local government generally, and to poor relief only as a part of local government. The application of it to particular branches of poor relief in more modern times is, however, a deliberate attempt to remedy the parochialism and resulting inefficiency of the general Poor Law system. The provision of almshouses by the county is increasingly common, but the most important direction in which the county system has been more recently applied is that of child-relief. Attention has already been drawn to the county Boards of Children's Guardians in a few States, who have control over

all classes of children, from the juvenile criminal to the orphan. Less comprehensive in their scope, but of the same character are the county boards for providing institutions for pauper children and for boarding them out. In all these cases the avowed object is to withdraw the children from the local relief institutions. Further, it is noteworthy that in several of these, as well as in other States, such as New York, the State has concerned itself directly with the relief of these children, either by requiring that homes in which children are boarded shall have the approval of the State Board of Charities, by special inspection of the children, or, finally, by itself providing State schools in which the children are maintained as well as educated.

It is probable that private charity is made use of to aid or supplement the Poor Law more extensively in America than in any other country, with the exception of those countries (such as the Latin States in Europe), whose relief system is avowedly based on charity. The universal restriction of outdoor relief in the State laws has, no doubt, stimulated charity to fill the gap.\* The inadequacy of the almshouse for institutional relief has similarly led to the development of charities for providing homes for the aged, and more especially to the generous provision of hospitals. Owing to the absence of a central driving force in a State department, coupled with the fact that the local relief authority has not as a rule a free hand in levying rates, the position of institutional relief for the sick in the States are in most districts a complete contrast to those obtaining in this country. There, outside the larger cities, charity provides the hospital and the relief authority subscribes for those whom it sends there. Even in the cities charity as a rule has provided medical relief, both institutional and for out patients, far more liberally than has the municipal authority. Similarly, provision for the aged, infirm, and for incurables outside the almshouse is left to charity, and its institutions are widely used by the Poor Law. Charity is utilized in an even more direct way in the case

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\* A writer in the *Charities Review* (March and April, 1899) seeks by analysis of the public out relief and private charity in some forty-five cities to show that the two vary in inverse proportion to each other. It is doubtful, however, if a liberal system of out-relief diminishes private charity.

of child relief. In this sphere, as will be seen from the account of relief in New York, and the same system obtains in other States, children's aid societies become the officially recognized agents of the Poor Law for taking charge of pauper or neglected children, placing them in institutions or in homes, and supervising their careers. But organized charity has attained its most striking recognition in the State Charities' Aid Associations of New York and New Jersey. In these States the Association is by statute placed in a position of official guardian and inspector of all public institutions for relief in the State, and it will be seen from the account of relief in New York that its reports are a serviceable instrument in the hands of the State Board for securing reforms.

The development of charity and its official recognition as an agent in public relief has paved the way to a ready acceptance of the principle of charity organization. Under the form of Charity Organization Societies — a society of this name was founded in Philadelphia in 1878 — or of Associated Charities, as in Boston, charity organization has been widely adopted in the American cities. In a few cases, *e. g.*, New York and St. Paul (Minnesota), these societies have achieved their primary object of organizing co-operation among the various charities of a city. In St. Paul, the Associated Charities is actually a federation of the thirty-six charities of the city, which elect its managing body and officers; the officers of the central body investigate all claims for assistance and make recommendations. In New York the Charity Organization Society is independent of the charities of the city, but it aims at securing a central registry of all cases assisted in the city and at co-operating in the work of investigating claims for assistance. The society has also done valuable work in training voluntary visitors for relief work in its School of Philanthropy. But on the whole the movement has not generally succeeded in America, any more than it has in England, in securing active co-operation among charitable bodies. The various societies of the kind remain for the most part separate charitable agencies, with, however, the distinction that they stand for careful investigation and individualization in relief giving of the kind so successfully carried out under the

Elberfeld system, and that the more advanced societies, such as that of New York, have turned their attention to the scientific study of wider problems than mere relief, such as housing and the removal of slums, the home treatment of tuberculosis and other diseases affecting the capacity for self-support.

### Districts of Berlin

At present the city of Berlin in granting of out-door relief is governed by a central board. This board is composed of five magistrate members, 17 council members, 7 lawyers, of which Dr. Lehman is one, and 10 prominent citizens, of which Dr. Levy, head of 2,000 private charities, is a member.

The city is divided in 400 poor districts, the administrators of which have authority to give certain amounts of established relief. For more extended relief these districts appeal to the higher district (*Armkreize*) and any special allowance must further come before the central board.

The large district (*Armkreize*) is composed of citizens, members of councils and four lawyers (*Armamt*). In the small districts, the Poor Commission administers direct to the poor. The citizens (administrators) serve without pay, and are elected by the council.

The presidents of such districts are allowed 25 marks monthly which merely pays for expenses. Over five thousand citizens serve on the poor commissions without pay.

I think this system of administrators, serving without pay, forms the great strength of the German relief work. It is considered somewhat of an honor to be elected on the Poor Commission, and it is generally conceded in Berlin that each man takes a personal interest in meeting the needs of the poor in his district. In the Central Board only the lawyers are paid officials.

### The Treatment of Orphan Children in Germany

While in Berlin I talked with Herman Schuster who is the General Director of the Department of Dependent Poor Children and Orphans. Herr Schuster also emphatically stated, that he is opposed to institutions for children and only allows chil-

dren in institutions for temporary purposes, such as illness or waiting to be conveyed to foster parents.

Such foster parents receive 30 marks monthly for infants, and each child must be brought to the Board for examination weekly, as to its weight, condition, etc. When the child is found to be in good health, the foster parents are given the custody of the child but the official city doctor attends it when it is ill during all the time it is under foster guardianship.

A very complete system of rules and regulations that must be followed by such guardians including every item of clothing that the child is entitled to by law is designated in separate booklets, so that the relations of the child, the State, and the foster parents are clearly defined and violations are easily followed up. Following are the laws governing the relief of poor children, orphans, and other poor children under foster guardians:

#### *Enactments Governing Care of Orphans*

(a) *The Court of Guardianship (Vormundschafts-gericht).*—The court competent to deal with a case is that belonging to the locality where the orphan has his settlement or place of residence. For a child whose family cannot be traced, the court of the locality where the child was found is the one to deal with the matter.

(b). *Children Needing Guardianship.*—A minor requires a guardian (*Vormund*) when he is not under parental control, or when the parents are not authorized to deal with the person or property of the child. A minor also requires a guardian if his family cannot be ascertained.

A child is reckoned to be not under parental control, and, therefore, to need a guardian, if:

(a) It is illegitimate. The mother in such a case has not legally parental control; she has the right and the duty to care for the child's person, but cannot represent the child. A guardian must, therefore, be appointed.

(b) Both its parents are dead, or are understood to be so.

(c) It has a mother or a father who, however, has been convicted of an offense against the child, or is imprisoned for at least six months.

(d) The mother, who had parental control, marries a second time.



A person of full age must have a guardian if he is not in possession of all his faculties and needs protection for himself or his property.

(c) *Office of Guardian*.—A guardian may be appointed by the father, mother, grandfather; failing such, the court of guardianship must appoint one after hearing the local orphan board (*Gemeindewaisenrat*). A person appointed as guardian is obliged to take up the position unless he is exempt on the grounds specified in the law. Whoever refuses without just cause is liable for any damage that the child may sustain through the delay in appointing a guardian. The court of guardianship may impose penalties on persons refusing the duty. Each penalty may not exceed £15, but not more than three such fines may be imposed.

A person appointed as guardian may refuse on the ground:

- (1) That he is over sixty years of age.
- (2) That he has more than four lawful children.
- (3) That he is prevented through illness; or
- (4) That he is already guardian to more than one child, and on a few other special grounds.

Women may not be appointed guardians. A bankrupt or person who has lost his civil rights may not be appointed.

A guardian has the right and duty of caring for the person and property of the ward, and particularly of representing him. A guardian's duties and rights are such as are defined in regard to parental control, that is, they comprise the upbringing of the child, the appointment of his place of residence, and the correction of the child. He must render an account annually of his guardianship to the court of guardianship.

In addition to a guardian, a counter-guardian (*Gegenvormund*) may be appointed if the guardianship involves management of property, unless a joint guardianship is instituted.

(d) *The Orphan Board* (Section 77 of the Prussian Municipal Law).—For each commune one or more full members of the commune shall be appointed as an orphan board. The office is an honorary one. On manorial estates the orphan council is appointed by the lord of the manor. Women may be appointed to assist the orphan council as "orphan helpers" (*Waisenpflegerin*);

their duty is to look after orphan wards of tender age and of girl wards, under the general direction of the orphan council.

The post of orphan councillor must be taken up by any parishioner appointed and he must act for three years, unless he can plead constant illness, business necessitating frequent absence from home, old age (over sixty), public office, etc. Without such grounds of exemption a person refusing office is liable to loss of civil rights for a period of three to six years, and to pay one-eighth to one-quarter more than other taxpayers towards the communal expenses. Communes are urged to appoint ministers of religion to the post.

The orphan council is not responsible to the court of guardianship, but to the magistrate or (*landrath*).

The duties of the orphan council are:

(a) To inform the court of guardianship of persons who are suitable for appointment as guardians.

(b) To support the court of guardianship by seeing that guardians take proper care of wards living in the council's district, especially as regards their education and personal welfare, and to inform the court of anything amiss.

The court of guardianship must inform the orphan council of the institution of any guardianship over a ward living in its district, or of any change in the person of the guardian.

(e) *Duties of Court Guardianship*.—The court has to exercise supervision over the whole work of the guardians. It can impose fines on guardians for neglect of its regulations. It can order a ward to be placed in an industrial school or reformatory for its better education.

A guardian must present accounts relating to his office each year to the court.

#### THE CENTRAL ORPHAN FUND OF NASSAU

[*Note*.—The cost of orphan relief, which ordinarily falls on the local relief associations, is in the case of the former Duchy of Nassau specially provided by a central orphan fund (*Zentral Waisenfonds*) administered by the central government, and under

section 72 of the Prussian Poor Law of 1871 this fund is maintained as an exceptional case of State responsibility for poor relief.

The fund is regulated by special official circular of March 31, 1887, of which the following is a summary.]

Poor orphans belonging to Nassau, both of whose parents are dead, or illegitimate children whose mother is dead, or children with one parent alive, that parent being in a lunatic asylum, may be made a charge on the fund up to the end of their fourteenth year, though relief may in special cases be continued up to the fifteenth year. But application must be made within three months of the commencement of orphanhood. Relief will only be chargeable to the orphan fund if there are no relatives liable to maintain the child. A formal demand must be made through the local poor relief association, on the admission of a child to relief.

The object of the relief is to provide as far as possible parental care of the orphans, and to entrust, under contract, the care and education of the children to suitable persons. Such persons must be in a position to give not only material care to the children but to look after their education as their parents would. Relatives or friends of the child are therefore to be preferred. Institutional relief is only to be resorted to, on an order of the chief magistrate of the locality, when special circumstances require it, *e. g.*, in the case of neglected children. A child must be sent to an institution of its own faith.

The foster-parent (*Verpfleger*) must under written contract undertake to provide for the child in his own house, and in the case of children over seven years, to provide a separate bed, to give the child clothing and food, to provide medical care and all necessities for the child's schooling, and to see that it attends school during school age; to see to its moral and religious education and generally to treat it as it would be treated by its own parents. The contract stipulates for a quarter's notice on either side, so that if the authorities are not satisfied that the foster-parent has satisfactorily executed his duties, the contract may be terminated.

*Payment of Foster-Parents.*—The annual charge for maintenance (*Pflegegeld*) due from the central fund is to be settled

according to the circumstances of each case, with due regard to local conditions and to the cost of maintenance, for which the foster-parent will be liable; but it must not exceed:

- (a) £7 for children boarded-out in the city of Wiesbaden or for children admitted to institutions;
- (b) £6 10s. for children boarded-out in other towns of over 5,000 inhabitants; and
- (c) £5 10s. for all other children.

In the case of institutional relief, however, the charge on the central fund shall at most be only such as is paid by the local relief association in whose district the institution is situated, for a pauper child sent by it. In cases of special infirmity needing particular treatment the charge on the fund may be raised to £7 10s., and for children under two years of age the charge may be £5 10s.

The whole cost of medical treatment cannot be charged on the central fund, as this under the Imperial Poor Law of 1870 is the obligation of the parish; but medicines and surgical appliances delivered for the orphans can be charged. The accounts for this item must be sent in half-yearly, accompanied by the doctor's signature. Special clothing necessary for the child's confirmation ceremony can be charged on the fund.

### Section III. Relief and Treatment of Children

The following paragraphs deal, firstly, with the relief of orphan children, and, secondly, with the care of neglected children and reformatory cases.

#### (i.) CARE OF ORPHAN CHILDREN: WAISENPFLERGE

[*Note.*— There is no general law or ministerial regulation governing the relief of destitute children. Their relief falls on the local relief authority equally with that of all other destitute persons. Relief is given more usually by the method of boarding-out; orphanages, etc., which are either charitable or, less frequently, communal, tend to become merely temporary reception homes for the children.

The feature of the Prussian law, so far as concerns orphan children, is the system of guardianship.

Every orphan child, or child not under full parental control (including illegitimate children), must have a guardian, who is appointed to the post either by the parent or the local court sitting as a court of guardianship (*Vormundschafts-gericht*). Guardianship is one of the many unpaid offices on which German local government so largely relies. The duty of a guardian is practically identical with the duty of a parent towards his child, except in regard to actual maintenance. The guardian is responsible for his administration to the court of guardianship, to which he must annually render an account. But the formal control of the court is supplemented by an independent body. Each commune must have an orphan board (*Waisen-rat*), consisting of a few inhabitants, in possession of full civic rights, whose duty it is to supervise the care of all orphan children, and to act as advisory body to the court.

The legal provisions governing the care of orphans are scattered over a number of enactments, but are principally embodied in the municipal code (*Burgerliche Gesetzbuch*). The following is a summary of the chief provisions.]

(ii.) TREATMENT OF NEGLECTED AND "REFORMATORY" CHILDREN (PRUSSIA)

[*Note.*—The treatment of neglected and "reformatory" children (*Verwahrloste* and *Verbrecherische kinder*) is in Prussia dealt with by the Law of July 2, 1900 (for the educational care of minors)—*Gesetz uber die Fursorgeerziehung Minderjahriger*—of which the principal provisions are quoted below. The present law is an extension of an earlier law of 1878 which provided for "compulsory training"—*Zwangserziehung*. The new law while it enlarges the categories of children who are proper subjects of public control, tends, generally, in the direction of providing a more humane and personal treatment of neglected children in substitution for the penal methods enacted by the earlier Statute. Neglected and reformatory cases (defined in section 1 may on an order of the court of guardianship (*Vormundschafts-gericht*) be removed from parental control and placed either with a family

or in an institution. The former method is to be preferred if the case admits of it. Each child so placed has a curator (*Fursorger*) appointed to look after it, generally, and to see that its education and moral upbringing are sound. Provision is made for the child's technical instruction and apprenticeship after a certain age. Public control lasts usually till the completion of the eighteenth year, but may be extended in certain circumstances.]

*Law for the Educational Care of Minors, 1900*

1. A minor, who has not yet completed his eighteenth year, can be brought under educational care (*Fursorgeerziehung*):

(a) If the case is one provided for by sections 1,666 and 1,838 \* of the Municipal Law, and educational care is necessary to prevent the neglect of the child.

(b) If the child has committed a punishable offense for which in consideration of his youth he cannot be prosecuted penally, and educational care is, in view of the nature of the act, the character of the parents or of the particular person who is bringing up the child, and the general conditions of its life, necessary to prevent further moral neglect of the child.

(c) If, apart from these cases, because of the inadequacy of the educational influence of the parents or of the particular person who is bringing up the child, or of the school, educational care is necessary in order to avoid the complete moral corruption of the child.

2. Educational care is carried out under public supervision and at the public cost in suitable families, or in an industrial school (*Erziehungsanstalt*) or a reformatory (*Besserungsanstalt*).

3. Admission to educational care takes place when the court of guardianship has by resolution determined the existence of the conditions provided for in section 1 indicating the facts found to be proved, and has ordained such admission.

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\* Sec. 1,666 provides that if the moral or material well-being of a child is endangered by the father's misuse of parental authority over the child's person, and the child is neglected or is guilty of dishonest or immoral conduct, then the court of guardianship must take steps to prevent this risk, and may order that with a view to the child's training it shall be brought into the care of a family or an industrial school or reformatory.

4. The court of guardianship determines the case on its own official initiative or on demand. The following are empowered and authorized to make a demand:

(a) The Landrath, the Oberamtmann in the Hohenzollern districts, and in towns with more than 10,000 population the president of the commune (*Gemeinde-vorstand*).

(b) In capital cities the president of the commune and the chief of the police.

Before passing the resolution the court of guardianship shall, so far as this can be done without considerable difficulty, hear the parents, the legal guardian of the child and, in all cases, the president of the commune, the proper minister of religion, and the manager or teacher of the school, and, if the resolution is not passed on demand from outside, the court of guardianship must give the Landrath, or corresponding officials, after communicating the case to them, an opportunity to give information.

The resolution is to be sent to the legal guardians of the child, to the child itself, if he or she is over 14 years of age, to the Landrath or other officials and to the communal association which is liable for the relief (see section 14).

As against the resolution, an immediate remonstrance can be made by the persons mentioned in the last paragraph, the legal guardians of the child, or the child itself, only if the resolution imports the admission of the child to educational relief. A remonstrance has the effect of postponing the decision.

5. In case there is danger in delay, the court of guardianship can authorize a provisional admission of the child. The police authority of the child's place of residence has in this case to provide for the child's admission to an institution, or to the shelter of a suitable family.

The expenses involved in this temporary admission, if the decision to admit to educational relief is soon afterwards determined finally, falls on the communal association liable for it under section 14, otherwise it falls on the association that has to bear the cost of the local police. In any case the police authority must advance the expenses incurred on account of the temporary admission.

Disputes over the sufficiency of the advance made by the police

authority to meet the liabilities brought into account is decided by the county committee (*Bezirksausschuss*). The decision of the committee is final.

6. If the hearing of the parents or legal guardians of the child provided for in section 4 cannot take place, then the latter may cause the resumption of the matter to be postponed.

8. The legal proceedings are not liable to fees or stamp duty. The bare expenses fall on the State Treasury. If, in the opinion of the court of guardians, the examination of the persons to be heard under section 4 is found necessary, they can make demand for payment of the necessary expenses from the State Treasury; this does not, however, apply in the case of the parents of the children.

Contracts for the admission of children are free of stamp duty.

9. The carrying out of educational care is obligatory on the communal association; it decides in what manner the pupil shall be admitted. In a case of institutional education the pupil shall, as far as possible, be admitted to an institution belonging to his own creed. In a case of family training the pupil must, at least up to the end of the period of compulsory education, be admitted into a family of his own belief. The communal association has to inform the court of guardians of the admission and of the discharge of the pupil. The transfer of the pupil is the duty of the police authority of the child's place of residence.

10. Children may not be admitted to workhouses or provincial poorhouses, such as are provided for the sick, infirm, idiots, deaf and dumb and blind, except for so long as their physical or mental condition requires.

For the carrying out of the preliminary educational care, upbringing in the child's own family may be ordered, provisionally, under the supervision of the communal association.

11. For each child admitted into a family a curator (*Fürsorger*) is to be appointed to watch over its upbringing and care. Women may be appointed to this work.

12. On the demand of the communal association liable in the matter, the manager of an industrial school (*Erziehungsanstalt*) under State supervision, may — subject to the provisions of section 78 of the Municipal Law — be appointed by the persons indi-



cated as guardians under section 1776 of the Municipal Law, to act as guardian (*Vormund*) to children admitted to the institution under section 3, and following sections of this law.

The same applies to a child who shall be brought up under the supervision of the manager of the institution in one of the families chosen by him. If the supervision of the child is the duty of an official appointed by the communal association, then he can be appointed, on the demand of the association, to act as guardian in place of the manager of the institution.

13. Educational care ends with the child's minority. Suspension of educational care at an earlier date is to be effected on the decision of the communal association in its official capacity, or on the demand of the parents, or of the legal guardians of the child, when the object of the educational care is attained, or the attainment of that object is otherwise decided on. Suspension of educational care can only be determined upon, subject to revocation at any time.

Against a decision of refusal to suspend educational care, the person preferring the demand can, within two weeks from the date of delivery of the decision, appeal to the judgment of the court of guardianship. Appeal may be made against the decision of the court of guardianship. Appeal by the communal association has the effect of postponing the operation of the decision.

A demand that has been refused may not be renewed for an interval of six months.

14. Provincial associations, and the city of Berlin, are obliged to provide admission of a child committed, on a resolution of the court of guardianship, to educational care by one of the methods corresponding to the provisions of this law. These authorities must also provide for the erection of industrial and reformatory schools, so far as there is need for them, or must bring the children into suitable families or into public, religious or private institutions, and also, so far as may be necessary, to provide suitable lodging at the termination of the educational care.

That communal association is responsible for the admission in whose district is situated the locality of which the court of guardianship has passed the statutory resolution.

15. Expenses incurred either on account of the transfer of a

child to a family or an institution, on account of the procuring of the necessary outfit, on account of the burial of children dying while in receipt of educational care, and on account of the return of children whose period of relief has expired, fall on the local poor relief association in whose district the child has a settlement. If such relief association does not exist, then the expenses fall on the communal association liable therefor under section 14 (2). Other expenses of maintenance and education as well as the care of discharged children fall in any case on the communal association.

Communal associations receive a contribution towards their expenses under the preceding paragraph from the State amounting to two-thirds of their total expenses. Payment of the contribution is to be made by the Minister of the Interior annually in settlement of the foregoing year's expenses or in a lump sum periodically by agreement with the individual association.

16. Communal associations are entitled to demand repayment of the expenses of a child's maintenance incurred during the period of educational care either from the child itself or from the persons legally obliged under the municipal law to provide for its support. The same right belongs to the local poor relief association in regard to the expenses falling on it under section 15 (1).

For repayment of the communal association's expenses, a tariff of charges is to be established by the Minister of the Interior. The expenses of the general administration of educational relief and of the construction and maintenance of the institution by the communal associations shall remain out of the account.

Two-thirds of the total amount recovered by the communal associations from the persons liable to repay are to be reckoned in towards the State's contribution under section 15 (2).

17. Communal associations shall draw up regulations for the carrying out of educational care and for the management of their industrial schools and reformatories. The regulations need official approval.

19. If a child of school age cannot attend a public school without serious danger to the rest of the children attending the school,

the communal association is obliged to provide for it, so that it shall receive the necessary education in some other way.

20. The proper State authorities who have supervision of the communal association, and in the last resort the Minister of the Interior, have to provide supervision over the arrangements for the treatment of children.

21. (Penalties on persons withdrawing children from educational control.)

EXTRACTS FROM OFFICIAL CIRCULAR ON THE ABOVE LAW  
(DECEMBER, 1900)

This law cuts so deeply into the relationship between parent and child that it involves a complete severance of the child from the family; it will, therefore, only be applied when all other means have been exhausted for providing a proper upbringing. Before this measure is considered, care should be taken to ascertain whether by the employment of other measures, *e. g.*, religious influence, school discipline, poor relief, voluntary charitable help, or the regulations of ordinary guardianship, the child's neglect may be prevented, or the further progress of it hindered. Where the neglect is due to the domestic poverty of the parents or foster-parents, or in the defective care of an orphan child, then the poor relief association liable in the matter is to continue by way of supervision to do its duty.

Educational relief can only be instituted by the court of guardianship by way of resolution, and this, on its own official initiative when the facts are brought to its notice, or on demand from outside.

The law limits the persons entitled to make such demand (section 4) in order to secure a reliable and uniform execution of the law, but this is not to prevent other authorities and private persons from giving information as to cases of neglect; and ministers of religion, doctors, and teachers, are to be specially encouraged to give information, and to make demands for the control of neglected children.

In regard to the best method of treatment it should be remembered that the object is to educate the child in a sound religious direction and into acquiring a useful occupation, preferably at

agricultural work. Boarding in a family is to be preferred wherever this is possible. It should be adopted wherever the child has not exceeded the school age, and is not specially depraved. In the choice of a family, the capacity for giving a sound religious education must be considered first of all; and in the next place regard must be had to the family's possession of land or garden. Families living in big towns or occupied in industries are to be avoided. A contract is to be made with the head of the family requiring time to provide all necessities, including medical treatment for the child. Care is to be taken that the family selected does not live too near the child's old place of residence, and that no other children are adopted into that family.

It is admissible to place a child in its own family; but as a preliminary the child must have been thoroughly reformed in a strange family or in an institution, and the circumstances which led to the child's neglect in his own family must have been removed.

Institutional care, *i. e.*, in industrial and reformatory schools, is advisable in cases where the child has been brought up in vicious surroundings, or where it needs medical or other special attention; but the children shall only remain in the institution so long as may be absolutely necessary for their individual cases, *i. e.*, for their moral or physical welfare. As soon as possible, they are to be boarded out, and, if possible, under the supervision of the manager of the school. If a child subsequently shows itself unfit for family life, it is to be brought back to the institution. Religious and private establishments may be utilized for the purpose. Such institutions should be of medium size, accommodating something between fifty and one hundred children; and they should not be in large cities or in industrial districts.

Local authorities are permitted to employ, for the provision of industrial establishments of their own, buildings that are not wanted as workhouses or institutions for provincial poor; but such buildings must be completely shut off from those provided for the reception of provincial poor and persons committed for correction, and must have its own official staff, and the children committed to them must have no communication with the paupers in the other institutions.

Before the child completes his school age, it will be opportune to provide a situation as apprentice or servant corresponding to the particular capacity and circumstances of the child in accordance with his own wishes. As the child's master or instructor only thoroughly competent and skilled persons should be appointed; and the contract should stipulate for the complete training of the child within a specified time. The relationship of master and apprentice or servant is of the nature of family educational relief (*i. e.*, boarding out) and the regulations in regard to it apply here.

For each child placed in a family the communal association must appoint a curator (*Fürsorger*) whose duty it is to supervise the conduct of the child as well as its education and management. The curator must make himself personally acquainted with the family, must look after the child's education and care, and must ascertain from the minister of religion and the school authority that the child's duties are regularly performed. Similarly he must see that children apprenticed or in service are employed on suitable work, and that they get some time for recreation. He must make a report half-yearly to the proper communal officials. The curator must live in the same place as the child or very near it so that he can properly supervise it, and should be of the same religion. For the post of curator, ministers of religion, teachers, members of the orphan board should preferably be chosen. If the child is under guardianship, the guardian should, if he lives near, be appointed curator. For children under twelve years of age and for girls women should preferably be appointed curators.

A curator's office is an honorary one, but he is repaid his necessary expenses.

The manager of a public local industrial school is guardian of a child in the school; the manager of a similar private or religious establishment may also be appointed to act in this capacity.

The cost of removal of a child to a family or institution, the cost of its original outfit, and of the burial of children dying while in receipt of educational relief, and of the removal of time-expired children, is to be borne by the local relief association or by the "union" in which the child has a settlement. All other

expenses of maintenance and education fall on the communal association; and of these the State contributes two-thirds.

The special attention of local bodies is drawn to the provision for recovery of costs from the parents.

The chief magistrates (*Oberpräsident*) of the district co-operating with the communal association is to have general control of the arrangements for the execution of the law.

### General Relief and Treatment of Children

The general relief and treatment of children in Berlin is so well stated by the Royal Commission of England that I herewith quote from their report.

#### RELIEF AND TREATMENT OF CHILDREN

The care of all classes of children, for whose welfare public responsibility has been assumed, falls to the charge of the Armenverwaltung or poor relief administration, acting through either the poor board (*Armen-direktion*) or through the orphan board (*Waisen-deputation*).

(i.) *Children relieved with parents*.—Three classes of children may be distinguished, (a) children of poor widows, deserted wives and such like, on whose behalf the parent or foster-parent is given relief, (b) orphans and children regarded as practically in the position of orphans; and (c) neglected children.

In the case of the first of these classes, that of children living with a parent who cannot adequately maintain and bring them up, out-relief in the form of foster-relief (*pflegegeld*) is given to the mother. Under this form of relief, which has already been noticed in connection with out-relief generally, the child is practically boarded out with its own mother. Of the 11,853 children for whom relief in this form was provided in 1905, 10,102 were living with their mothers, and on an average there were rather less than two children in receipt of foster-relief in each family. The remaining children were being cared for by friends or relations. The scale of relief which, as before pointed out, has regard strictly to the number of children in the family for whom assistance is needed, ranges between 8s. and 21s. a month for a child, but these are the extreme limits; for more than half the

children the allowance is between 7s. and 10s. a month, and for more than a third of them it is between 6s. and 6s. 6d. As a rule a mother with only one child will not be allowed relief.

(ii.) *Orphan relief*.—The relief of orphan children (*Weisenpflege*) was until recently a function of a sub-committee of the poor board. In 1906 the work was entrusted to an independent committee, the Waisen-deputation, which, however, remains closely in touch with the poor board, its president and some of its members having seats on both bodies. The committee has control of the two municipal orphanages, the orphanage in the Alte Jakobstrasse in Berlin, and that at Rummelsburg. There is also a third institution at the disposal of the committee in the Kurasierstrasse which is supported by a private endowment known as the Schmidt-Gallisch Foundation, out of which about 100 children are provided for, either in the institution or by boarding out.

The objects of orphan-relief include, beside children orphaned of both parents, children whose parents or surviving parent have deserted them or are unable to provide for them in consequence of imprisonment, or even of infirmity, and children whose parents have been judicially deprived of their parental rights either in consequence of proved neglect or of a criminal conviction. The second of these classes is obviously open to an elastic interpretation and the General Instructions (*see* Appendix VII.) are careful to provide that ordinary relief must as far as possible be given if the parent is alive and can look after the child, and that admission to orphan relief is only allowable in the last resort. The statistics show, however, that orphans in the strict sense of the term are only about 15 per cent. of the whole number of children under "orphan care" (*weisenpflege*): indeed 41 per cent. of the "orphan" children relieved on the 1st January, 1906, were illegitimate children whose mothers were known to be alive, and another 21 per cent. were legitimate children in whose case both parents were living, but, for the most part, were separated or divorced.

Orphan relief is an increasingly important branch of the poor law administration. On the 1st January, 1906, 5,694 children were in receipt of relief on this form: in 1896-7, the average daily number had been 4,400. In 1905-6, the cost of relief to

orphan children outside the orphanages was £57,686; ten years earlier it had been £31,371, the cost per child having risen in the same period from £3 15s. to £5 6s. a year. The cost of the two orphanages in Berlin and at Rummelsburg, which in 1896-7 was £5,637, amounted in 1905-6 to £9,340. The entire (net) cost of orphan relief for 1905-6 was £67,837 or 8d. per head of the population. Some detailed figures regarding this branch of relief will be found in Appendix VII., and from these it will be gathered that about 10 per cent. of the "orphans" are under one year of age and about 40 per cent. are between ten and fourteen years of age.

The method of relief is, except in the case of a small portion of the children, boarding out in families. At the beginning of 1906, 422 children were being maintained mostly as a matter of temporary accommodation only, in the two municipal orphanages and in the endowed orphanage: 432 were maintained at the public charge in private institutions of a similar kind: while 4,840 were boarded out in families.

(iii.) *Relief of neglected children.*—The third category, that of neglected children, is also the concern of the orphan relief committee (*Weisenverwaltung*). Under the law of 2nd July, 1900, the definition of "neglect," and the degree of criminality which entitled the court to transfer a child from parental to public control were greatly extended with the result that the number of children thus dealt with has increased considerably. In March 1901, before the new law came into operation, some 530 children in Berlin were in semi-penal control under the system of "compulsory education" (*Zwangserziehung*)\*: five years later 2,835 neglected children and children convicted of police offences were being dealt with on the method of "educational care" (*Fürsorge-erziehung*). The working of this system is more fully dealt with in the account of the Prussian poor relief system. Here it will be sufficient to note that boarding-out in families is resorted to in some 8 per cent. of the cases, about 43 per cent. (1,229 children) were in industrial schools (*erziehungs-anstalten*) which at present are for the most part private institutions, and about 30 per cent. (861 children) were serving terms of apprenticeship or

\* See Appendix IV., Section III.



were in domestic service. About half the whole number of children were between the ages of ten and fifteen years, and another 40 per cent. were between fifteen and twenty.

The whole system of dealing with neglected children being part of the poor relief administration (*Armenverwaltung*), the relief committees are readily associated with it. They are required to keep cases of neglect that are reported to them under their observation and to inform the poor board, if the circumstances of the case appear to warrant the transference of the children to public care. The poor board co-operates with the committee to which child-relief more particularly belongs, the *Waisendeputation*, and assists in bringing the case before the court of guardianship (*Vormundschaftsgericht*) which, if the circumstances warrant, deprives the parents of all rights over the child, whereby the child becomes a public charge. Thus, by the fact of the ultimate centralization of poor relief and the police administration which is realized under the German municipal system, all classes of children who should or do in fact become a public charge can be dealt with on the method appropriate to each case.

## FRANCE

Prior to the year 1893 the French Poor Law system initiated by the Directory and Napoleonic regime remained practically without change. According to that method a local committee (*bureau d'hospice* or *bureau d'hôpital*) gave indoor relief in any commune in possession of a hospital, an almshouse or orphanage, and out-relief by a similar committee (*bureau de bienfaisance*) in those communes which had constituted such a body. The communal councils and the *prefets* nominated the committees, which were dependent chiefly on their own endowments and on charitable gifts, and on the proceeds of some small local dues, augmented by subsidies from the communes.

The one branch of poor relief not wholly controlled by the committees was that of orphan and deserted children, for whom the Department stood responsible in the main.

Since 1893 the Third Republic has been endeavoring to create a system of official instead of the semi-charitable relief, and it

has effected its object by establishing a completely new organization, in which the civil authorities of the commune and the department or county bear the principal part, the State providing a third to a fifth of the expense. The aim has been to guarantee relief, in worthy cases, to those who could be graded as "physically or mentally incapable, either temporarily or permanently, of providing for themselves," and a series of enactments passed between 1893 and 1905 have lent force to the principle. These enactments provide for relief to (1) sick poor, (2) aged poor over 70, (3) the physically incapacitated of any age, and (4) orphan, deserted and neglected children.

The chief points of the new relief, which is administered by a new local relief authority, the bureau d'assistance, appear to be (a) that it is awarded rather on a calculation of certain defined conditions in the applicant than on general grounds and thus approaches more nearly to the system of old age pensions as administered in, say, Australia, or the United Kingdom, and (b) the finance of the scheme whereby the county or department, the commune and the State combine to share both in the cost, and, to a less extent, in the administration of relief.

In spite of the new method of relief, the old relief agencies still exist, but for other classes of poor. Apart from the new scheme of relief for the special classes of poor mentioned, there is no general authority under any obligation to relieve or with adequate funds for the purpose.

In 1910 the government succeeded in passing through the Senate a law providing for compulsory State-aid insurance against old age and invalidity, as a supplement to the law of 1905 for free relief to poor persons on these grounds.

#### **The New Law Concerning Widows**

Another evidence that the trend of the times lies in the direction of keeping the family intact, wherever it is possible to do so, is evidenced in the new law of the French Republic, which was instituted July 14, 1913.

Ten million dollars was appropriated by the State toward such child maintenance in the home of its parents or guardian wherever there are dependent children, and where there is not sufficient funds to support them.

The relief to widows, therefore, comes under this law, the translation of which here follows. I quote this measure in full since its purpose is so highly patriotic and constitutes a mandatory State charge for such families.

## FRENCH REPUBLIC

### ASSISTANCE TO THE FAMILIES WITH NUMEROUS CHILDREN

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1. Law of July the 14th, 1913.
  2. Circular of the secretary of the interior.
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## LAW

### *Pertaining to the Assistance of Families with Numerous Children.*

Article 1. Assistance to the families with numerous children constitutes an obligatory service for the department with the participation of the townships and the State.

This service is organized by the general council under the conditions provided in the present law. It is administered by the prefect.

If a general council refuses or neglects to deliberate, or if its deliberation is suspended upon application of article 49 of the Law of August the 10th, 1871, it can be added to the organization of the service by decree rendered in compliance with the forms and regulations of the public administration.

Article 2. Every head of a family of French nationality, with more than three children legitimate or recognized, under his care, whose resources are insufficient for their maintenance, receives an annual allowance for each child under thirteen years of age, where there are less or more children under thirteen years of age.

If the children are under the care of the mother, on account of the death of the father, his disappearance, desertion, or for any other reason, the assistance is given for each child less than thirteen years of age.

If the children are under the care of the father, on account of the death of the mother, her disappearance, desertion or for any other reason, the assistance is given for each child of less than thirteen years of age, beyond the second child less than thirteen years of age.

Shall be classified as children of less than thirteen years of age, to conform with the provisions of the present law, those children between thirteen and sixteen years of age whose head of the family or the mother have filed a written contract of apprenticeship in accordance with the public administration, provided in the article 15 of the present law, shall be considered as heads of the family, those persons, who in the event of the abandonment of the father and mother, shall have taken charge of the children.

Article 3. The allowance for each township is rated by the municipal council subject to the approval by the general council and the secretary of the interior.\*

It cannot be less than sixty francs (60) per year and for each child, and no more than ninety francs (90); if the allowance is more than ninety francs (90) the excess shall be borne exclusively by the county.

Article 4. The admission to the assistance and the mode of application for same are regulated in the conditions defined by articles 4, 5 and 7 to 18 of the Law of July 14th, 1905. The manner of assistance is the assistance at the domicile barring the exception provided in article 5.

Article 5. The enjoyment of the allowance begins the day fixed by the deliberation when the admission to the assistance has been granted. The allowance cannot be ceded or seized.

It is paid monthly and in advance without deduction of any kind and paid, as per decision of the municipal council, either to the head of the family, either to the mother, to the public establishment or the private establishment agreed upon by the secretary of the interior, in which the child or children were placed. The municipal council can also decide that a part or all of the allowance is given either to help paying the rent, or in goods by the benevolent bureau.

Article 6. The location of the help bureau is fixed by the conditions defined in the articles 6, 7 and 8 of the Law of July 15th, 1893.

The disputes concerning the help bureau are settled by the administration council of the Department in which the head of the family resides.

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\* 100 Centimes=1 Franc; 1 Franc=\$0.193.

The decisions of the prefectal council can be contested before the State council. The appeal is judged free of expense and is exempted from the stamp and the lawyers' fees.

Article 7. Are mandatory upon the township under conditions of articles 136 and 149 of the Law of April 5, 1884, the expenses for assistance resulting from the allowances granted to the heads of families and to the women who are deprived of resources, who come under the conditions provided in article 2 and residing within the radius of the township Bureau. The township provides for such expenses for help as follows:

1. From special resources derived from funds or gifts given.
2. From eventual participation of the benevolent Bureau.
3. In the event of insufficiency, of a Department subvention, figured on that portion of the expenses not covered by the resources aimed in the two preceding paragraphs, in conformity with schedule A (Tables 1, 2 and 3) annexed to the present law, and without the charge of the county being less than 10 per cent. of that portion of the expenses.
4. For the surplus, with the help of ordinary receipts or resources derived from the impost levies or taxes for which collection is authorized.

Article 8. Are obligatory for the Department under the conditions of articles 60 and 61 of the Law of August 10th, 1871.

1. The expenses resulting from the allowances granted to the head of families and to women deprived of resources who come under the conditions provided in article 2 and having a Departmental Bureau.

2. The expenses of the administration and the borough service control.

3. The subventions to allot to the townships by applying the preceding article.

The Departments provide for these expenses as follows:

1. From special resources accruing from funds or gifts made to them with view to assisting the families with numerous children.

2. In the event of insufficiency of the State subvention calculated on that part of the expenses not covered by the resource aimed in the preceding paragraph, as per schedule B (tables 1,

2 and 3) annexed to the present law, and without the charge of the Department being less than 5% of that portion of the expenses;

3. And for the surplus, with the help of the ordinary receipts and of resources derived from the impost, levies or taxes of which collection is authorized by the laws.

Article 9. Independently of the subvention to be allotted in obedience with article 8 paragraph 2 the State is charged:

1. With the allowances to the head of families and women deprived of resources and being in the conditions provided by article 2 and having no domicile.

2. With the expenses of the administration and control occasioned by the present law.

Article 10. All certificates, notifications, judgment, contracts, receipts and other acts performed by virtue of the present law and having for sole object the administration of the assistance to the needy families with numerous children are registered free, as the formality of registration is concerned.

Article 11. It is not derogating to the dispositions of the law of June 27, 1904, completed by the law of April 22, 1905, on the service of the assisted children, but the advantages of the aforesaid laws cannot be embodied with those of the present law.

Article 12. Paragraph 1st of article 17 of the law of July 14th, 1905, is completed as follows:

The number of the members of the central committee can be increased by decree under advice of the State council. The supplementary members are elected at the rate of four-sixths by the superior board of public assistance and two-sixths by the superior board of the cheap dwellings.

Article 13. The dispositions of article 32 of the law of December 23, 1912, may be applied to the public dwellings affected to the families with numerous children, aimed by the aforesaid article. The State will participate for the half, as the families with numerous children aimed in article 2 of the present law are concerned, on the subvention granted by the township to the

public offices and to the societies for cheap dwellings within the conditions provided in the article 32 above mentioned.

If the public office or the society for cheap dwellings will undertake to assign to the families aimed in the article 2 living quarters representing at least the half value of the rental of the whole of the lodgings of each house, the subventions can be raised to 2 per 100 on the cost of the house; they may be leased for a period of 30 years the most.

The deliberations of the municipal boards regarding this object cannot be executed unless approved by the Secretaries of the Interior, of Labor and Finances.

Article 14. The prefect upon advice of the general council, can create patronage committees whose operation and duties will be determined by one of the rules provided in article 15.

Article 15. Rules of the public administration will determine the necessary measures to secure the execution of the present law. A special rule of the public administration will determine the conditions of this application to the city of Paris.

The present law may be applied in the next three months following the publication of the rules of the public administration in the Official Journal.

The present law deliberated and adopted by the Senate and the House of Representatives will be executed as a State law.

Made in Paris, July the 14th, 1913.

By the President of the Republic,

R. POINCARE.

*By the Secretary of Labor,*

HENRY CHERON.

*The Secretary of the Finances,*

CHARLES DUMONT.

*The Secretary of the Interior.*

L. L. KLOTZ.

## Schedules Annexed

## SCHEDULE A

Serves to determine the part of the expenses, for the assistance of the families with numerous children, to be covered by the townships under the conditions provided in paragraph 3 article 7.

TABLE 1

VALUE OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC CENTIME	Part of the expense to be covered by the township on the basis of the demog. centime
Under 0,06.....	4 per 100
From 0,061.....	6
From 0,081.....	8
From 0,101.....	10
From 0,121.....	13
From 0,141.....	17
From 0,161.....	21
From 0,181.....	25
Above 0,20.....	30

TABLE 2

FINANCIAL CHARGES OF THE TOWNSHIPS TOTAL NUMBERS OF CENTIMES	Part of the expense to be covered by the townships for charges
Under 10 centimes.....	20 per 100
From 11 to 25.....	17
From 26 to 40.....	14
From 41 to 55.....	11
From 56 to 70.....	9
From 71 to 85.....	7
From 86 to 100.....	5
From 101 to 120.....	3
Above 120.....	1



TABLE 3

CHARGES PER INHABITANT RESULTING FROM THE ASSISTANCE TO THE LARGE FAMILIES	Part of the ex- pense to be cov- ered by the town- ships for the as- sistance to the large families
From 0,30 and above.....	20 per 100
From 0,31 to 0,45.....	18
From 0,46 to 0,60.....	16
From 0,61 to 0,75.....	14
From 0,76 to 0,90.....	12
From 0,91 to 1,05.....	10
From 1,06 to 1,20.....	8
From 1,21 to 1,35.....	6
From 1,36 to 1,50.....	4
From 1,51 to 1,70.....	2
Above 1,70.....	1

## SCHEDULE B

Serves to show the part of the expenses, to the assistance of the large families, to be covered by the departments under the conditions provided in paragraph 7 article 8.

TABLE 1

VALUE OF THE DEPARTMENTAL CENTIME IN PROPORTION TO THE POPULATION PER 100 INHABITANTS	Part of the ex- pense to be cov- ered by the de- partments on the basis of the dem- ographic depart- mental centime
From 5 francs and below.....	2 per 100
From 5,01 to 6.....	4
From 6,01 to 7.....	6
From 7,01 to 8.....	9
From 8,01 to 9.....	12
From 9,01 to 10.....	15
From 10,01 to 11.....	18
From 11,01 to 12.....	21
From 12,01 to 15.....	24
From 15,01 to 18.....	27
Above 18.....	30

TABLE 2

FINANCIAL CHARGES OF THE DEPARTMENTS — THE TOTAL NUMBER OF CENTIMES	Part of the expense to be covered by the departments on account of their financial charges
Under 50 centimes.....	10 per 100
From 51 to 60.....	9
From 61 to 70.....	8
From 71 to 80.....	7
From 81 to 90.....	6
From 91 to 100.....	5
From 101 to 105.....	4
From 106 to 110.....	2
Above 110.....	1

TABLE 3

CHARGE PER 100 INHABITANTS RESULTING FROM THE ASSISTANCE TO THE LARGE FAMILIES	Part of the expense to be covered by the departments on account their contribution to the assistance of the large families
From 25 francs and below.....	10 per 100
From 26 to 40.....	9
From 41 to 55.....	8
From 56 to 70.....	7
From 71 to 85.....	6
From 86 to 100.....	5
From 101 to 115.....	4
From 116 to 130.....	3
From 131 to 145.....	2
Above 145.....	1

## CIRCULAR

*Relative to the Application of the Law of July 14th, 1913, on the Assistance to the Families with Numerous Children.*

*The Secretary of the Interior to the Prefects.*

The law of July 14th, 1913, the text of which was published in the official Journal of the 16th, institutes the assistance obliga-

tory to the families with numerous children who are deprived of resources. The law, by virtue of article 15th, can be applied within the three months following the publication in the official Journal, of the rules of the public administration where the proper means for assuring the execution shall be stated. All care shall be executed in order that these rules should be published in due time, to secure the payment of the monthly allowances beginning next January. To obtain this result, being given the part that the general councils, the municipal councils and the benevolent or help bureau shall be called to play it is indispensable that you should bring the utmost activity and to urge on each one of them. The purpose of this circular is to shorten the legal procedure and to point out the measures of preparation that should be taken.

A detailed commentary will be premature.

#### I. BENEFICIARIES

1. The beneficiaries defined by article 2, are the heads of the families (or the mothers). They must fulfill three conditions:

A. They must be of French nationality.

B. To have insufficient resources to raise their children, legitimate or recognized of whom they are in charge.

C. To be in charge of a minimum number of children less than thirteen years of age number which varies according to the case. Three cases to this effect are to be considered:

1. If the children were left to the charge of the mother on account of the death of the father, to his disappearance, his desertion, or of any other reason (for instance if the father is interned in an asylum or in a poor house, beneficiary of the law of July the 14th, 1905, as an infirm or an incurable, sentenced to a long prison term), the assistance is given to the mother for each child of less than thirteen years of age.

Therefore if the mother, who finds herself in similar conditions, has two children of less than thirteen years of age, she is entitled to an allowance; if she has three children she is entitled to two allowances and if she has four to three allowances,

2. If the children had been left in the father's charge on account of the mother's death, her disappearance or desertion or any other reason the assistance is given to the father for each child of less than thirteen years of age.

Therefore, if the father who is in such a condition, has two children he is not entitled to anything; if he has three he is entitled to an allowance; if four to two allowances, etc.

1. Outside of these two cases, the family head (and this applies, in the case of death, desertion or disappearance of the father and the mother to a person having gathered the children, he cannot benefit of the law unless he is in charge of at least four children under thirteen years of age; the assistance is given to him for each child under thirteen years of age beyond the third child; if he has four children, he is entitled to one allowance; if he has five, to two, etc.

2. Only the children under thirteen years of age are counted; those having more than thirteen years do not count, whatever may be their number. Exception is made for the children of from 13 to 16 years of age, whose head of the family or the mother shall have passed a written contract of apprenticeship on the conditions defined by ordinance of the public administration. A child of from 13 to 16 years of age who fulfills this particular condition, is therefore classified as a child under 13 years of age.

3. The family head cannot be admitted to benefit of the law, unless his resources are insufficient to raise the children, legitimate or recognized, under his charge. How this condition ought to be understood? No criterion was formed by the law as it was impossible to do so. There is no doubt a question of appreciation very delicate. Jurisprudence could only determine certain general rules, which we shall bring out subsequently. Beginning to-day, you shall explain to the municipal councils the financial inconvenience from abuses that might arise, when applying the law.

4. It is understood that the resources of which it is question here involve all resources of which dispose the interested party, whatever may be their origin or nature.

## II. QUOTA OF THE ALLOWANCE

5. The assisted has right to the allowance as many times as many children he has under thirteen years of age (or classified) over the number (see 1 Paragraph) of 2 (father, see 2), of 3 (head of the family, see 3).

6. The rate of the allowance which shall not vary from one assisted to the other, is fixed by the municipal council, subject to the approval of the general council and the Secretary of the Interior. It cannot be less than 60 francs, nor more than 90 francs a year.

7. The law adds that in the event of being more than 90 francs, the excess is to be borne exclusively by the township. The law in fact fixes the limits within which the departments and the State, shall participate in the township expense. The township can exceed these limits, but it shall bear the difference alone.

8. These figures of 60 and 90 francs, is understood to apply on the annual allowance. As the allowance is paid monthly, it is the rate of the monthly allowance that shall be practiced. It shall therefore not be less than 5 francs nor more than  $7\frac{1}{2}$  francs.

To avoid grave complications in the accounts, the figures and the Treasury, it is of the utmost importance that the monthly rate should be a single figure (5fr., 5fr. 50, 6fr. 6fr. 50. 7fr. 7fr. 50) so the annual rate should amount to (60 fr. 66fr. 72fr. 78fr. 84fr. 90fr.) This is a point on which you shall call the attention of the municipal councils; in the event that one of them disregarding the practical importance of this observation, did fix a different annual rate, for instance 73 fr. the corresponding monthly allowance being 6fr08 the general council will find undoubtedly necessary, and you shall request it to approve the amount of 72 fr.; if the council general overlook it, the Secretary of the Interior, using of the right that the law confers upon him shall not approve more than 72 fr. But we will avoid useless correspondence if from the start the municipalities, warned through your care, will conform with the views I have outlined.

9. Contrary to what it is stated in the law of July 14th,

1905, the concerned cannot receive a more or less reduced allowance on account of his resources. If he is known to possess sufficient resources to rear his children he should not be admitted. Otherwise he is admitted and thenceforth he receives (without deduction of any kind) it is stated in article 5 of the law, an allowance the rate of which depends exclusively upon the number of his children. For instance, in the same township, two widower laborers, having both the same number of children and having no other resources than their salaries which resources are judged insufficient, shall receive both the identical allowance although one earns 50 centimes more than the other per day.

10. In the application of the law of 1905, unless the resources of the assisted were been improved, fact however rare, the beneficiary received a monthly fixed allowance up to his death. The present law however provides otherwise. The resources of the concerned while similar, the amount of allowances, that he receives, shall be increased, in the event of the death of his wife, her disappearance, desertion or incurability etc.; or every time a new child is born to him it shall be decreased in case of death of a child under thirteen years of age, or when the child without being engaged as apprentice reaches his thirteen years also, when a child between 13 and 16 years of age in apprenticeship shall die or when he reaches his sixteenth year, or finally if less than sixteen years he discontinue effectively his apprenticeship; the allowance shall be suppressed following one of these events, the number of children figuring in the count shall become inferior to the legal standard. Therefore the assistance defined in the present law results in the total amount of the allowances granted and varies in accordance with the events developing in the family.

11. It becomes therefore a necessity to keep control of the individuals on the spot, both as to the death of the children entering the combination and their arrival to the age of thirteen years as each death and each thirteenth anniversary of child assisted carry a reduction of the allowance automatically. In the absence of such control the assisted parent shall continue to collect duly the same amount notwithstanding the fact that the majority of the children accounted for at the time when the

allowance was fixed are dead or have reached the limit of thirteen years; therefore abuses of a grave character and most expensive will be counted. Various dispositions of the rules of the public administration and the forms to be adapted in establishing the list of the assisted persons, will facilitate the operation of the law; despite these precautions, the control, however, shall be indispensable, as the control of the individuals, and the control exercised on the spot is concerned; the first will not allow the passing of the thirteenth anniversary unnoticed and the second will disclose whether the conditions existing at the time of the inscription have been modified, also in the projected departmental ordinance of the service annexed to the present circular, there are provided special articles relating to this double control. It is an essential point that you should not fail to bring to light in a clear way before the general council when you shall propose the inscription in their budget of the expenses of the departmental administration.

### III. MODE OF PAYMENT

12. The allowance is monthly; it is payable in advance and not at the expiration of the term as that of the law of 1905.

13. The enjoyment of the allowance begins the day fixed by the meeting that pronounces the admission to the assistance; numerous complications shall be avoided if the municipal councils will take the precaution to fix the starting point of all allowances the first day of the month immediately following the meeting; and you shall not fail to request it.

14. The municipal council can decide to whom it shall be paid not to the nominal beneficiary himself — either to the mother or to another member of the family; the interests of the children is the main principle that shall dictate the decisions.

15. The allowance cannot be ceded or seized.

16. The allowance can be paid to the public or private establishment in which the child or children shall be interned; if it is question of a private establishment the consent of the Secretary of the Interior shall be first secured.

17. The municipal council has power also to decide that part or the whole of the allowance shall be given in goods value, or

toward helping to pay the rent (it must be understood that no money shall be remitted to the concerned with which he shall pay his rent, but a rent draft that the assisted remits to the proprietor who collects same at the cashier of the board of charities).

#### IV. THE TEMPORARY ASSISTANCE OF THE LAW OF 1904

18. The law, the article 12 does not detract from the dispositions of the law of June 27, 1904, completed by the law of April 22, 1905 pertaining to the service of the assisted children, but the advantages of the aforesaid laws cannot be embodied with those of the present law.

It is question here of temporary helps. These temporary helps are destined to meet more serious situation of more miserable a nature, capable to provoke the abandonment of the child; they are in force, they shall continue to be applied by you along the lines outlined by the general council.

They cannot be accumulated with the allowances of the present law. Here is an apparent necessity for a control on special lines very simple moreover; consisting in finding whether the beneficiaries of the new law do not figure already on the list of the recipients of the temporary relief.

#### V. PROCEDURE

19. The admission to the assistance and the procedure of appeal for help are described by the law of July 14th, 1905, to which the present law refers purely and simply.

20. The board of charities establishes the list of applicants which seem to fulfill the requirements of the law; the list is divided in two parts; the first part comprises those applicants who have a bureau of assistance in their township and the others those who have no bureau. The list is an important document; it is largely on the informations contained in this list that the competent authorities will declare themselves. In comparing this list which will be submitted to you by the intermediary of the mayor or the vice public administrator, the latter and yourself will eventually discern some decisions of the municipal



council which will lead you to determine in taking the initiative of assistance.

You will find annexed to the present circular the model type after which the board of assistance shall draw this list; it especially provides a column where the exact date shall be written when the oldest child under thirteen years of age shall attain that age or each child between thirteen and sixteen years of age shall attain his sixteenth anniversary or the term of his contract; therefore the attention of the board of charities then of the municipality and yourself shall be called to these particular dates upon expiration of which, and in case of death, the assistance must be suppressed or reduced.

You will recommend in a particular way to the committees administering the bureaus of assistance to establish the list with the greatest care giving them to understand that in default of minute care the law might be misapplied.

21. The cantonal committees and the central committees who are judging the assistance of the law of 1905 will judge under the same conditions the assistances under the present law.

22. The rules of the bureau of assistance are those determined by the law of 1893 pertaining to the medical and gratuitous assistance; that is to say that the bureau of assistance it is acquired by a residence of a year and it is lost through an absence of a year. All the other rules of which application intervenes for the determination of the domicile exist, no matter whether they were fixed by the law of 1893 or by the State council jurisprudence.

## VI. FINANCIAL ORGANIZATION

23. The financial organization as a whole is alike to that of the law of 1905. Is divided between the township, the department and the State, the expenditure for the allowances of which the beneficiaries have the bureau of assistance in the township.

Are divided between the department and the State, on one part the expenditure for the allowances of which the beneficiaries have the assistance of the departmental bureau and on the other side the expenditure of the administration and the control of

the departmental service. They are in the exclusive charge of the State the allowances of which the beneficiaries have no bureau of assistance and also the general administration expenses.

The service is departmental as that of the Law of 1905, the receipts and expenses are computed in the departmental budget.

24. The expenditure caused by the allowances to the assisted who have their residence of assistance in a township in same cases cannot claim for said township, the participation of the department and therefore indirectly that of the State. The township must, in fact, cover such expense first "by means of special resources deriving from funds and gifts offered with a view to helping the families with numerous children" and "then by means of the eventual participation of the board of charities," and it is only in case of insufficiency of the aforesaid sources that the subvention intervenes and, in that event, it is figured upon the surplus.

25. Regarding the board of charities the law has contemplated their eventual participation only. The parliament refused to impose upon each bureau a participation according to formal rules. You shall therefore try to provoke such participation if possible on special cases.

26. The surplus above defined of the expenses engaged for the assistance of the beneficiaries whose domicile is in the township, is divided between the township, the department and the State. The share that goes to the township is figured as per schedule A annexed to the law. This schedule admits three tables: The first shows the part of the expenses to be borne by the township as per value of the demographic centime; the rate increases gradually from 4 to 30 per 100, according as the demographic centime varies from 6 centimes to 0 fr. 20. The second table shows the part of the expense measured according to the financial charges (total number of centimes) the rate varies from 20 to 1 per 100, according as the aforesaid total number of centimes varies itself from 10 to 120. The third table shows the part of the expense measured according to (the charges per inhabitant resulting from the assistance to the families with numerous children, the rate varies from 20 to 1 per cent., according as the aforesaid charges vary themselves from 0.30 to 1.70 per head of inhabitant.

27. These three partial rates are being added together to determine the total part that falls definitely upon the township with the proviso that in case the total amount is under 10 per cent. it would be raised automatically to 10 per cent. As the three partial rates can only attain the maximum figures of 30, 20 and 20 respectfully the total rate cannot therefore exceed 70 per cent. in no case.

28. Resuming the part of the expenses befalling to the township will vary from 10 to 70 per cent., according to the importance of the township; these are the same extreme limits like those taken for the charge, of the township by the schedules annexed to the Law of July 1st, 1905.

By the combined play of these three tables forming schedule 1 the legislator attempted to reach this goal; to arrange in such fashion that the total rate participated or rather contributed by the township should be weaker as its demographic centime is more modest, that the total of its financial charges (the total number of centimes) is heavier and that assistance to large families will impose upon it a stronger tax per head.

29. Of these three partial rates the two first ones are at present known for each township; on the contrary, the third, depending upon the number of the probable beneficiaries, likewise upon the number of the children in their charge, and the rate of allowance fixed for the township, cannot be exactly determined before the end of the experiment.

30. When the share of the township, according to the Schedule A, will have been fixed at 20 per cent., for example the subvention which the department, aided by the State, must furnish to the township, will be of the total, say 80 per cent.

31. The departmental expenses are composed of three elements. On one side the subventions that are allotted to the townships by the application of Schedule A, as just now explained (paragraph 30); on the other hand the expenses resulting from allowances, the beneficiaries of which have the domicile within the departmental aid; last, the expenses of administration, and departmental control of the administration.

32. Towards the payment of these expenses the department must bring at first the total of resources — "special resources

arising from foundations or gifts made to it for the purpose of aid to large families."

33. The surplus is apportioned between the department and the State, according to Schedule B; this one, similar to one preceding, contains three tables based, the first upon the demographic centime of the department; the second upon the financial charges of the department (the total number of centimes); the third upon "the charge by one hundred inhabitants resulting from the assistance to large families."

34. The amount to be paid by the department is determined with the help of these three tables, under the same conditions as the part of the townships. (See above 28 and the following.)

35. The expenses of the department will vary from one department to another, from 5 to 7, 50, and these are the other extreme limits between which to-day the expense of the department varies for the application of the law of the 14th of July, 1905. Such is the general economy of the new law.

It remains to examine the successive measures that you must take to insure the execution of the same by the general council as well as by municipal councils.

#### *"A." General Council*

36. By virtue of the first article assistance to large families constitutes a mandatory charge for all departments. The council must, therefore, organize it by special deliberation. The departmental rules are very simple, as all the questions relating particularly to presentation of demands, and to the establishment of the list, are fixed by the rule of public administration, and those relating to the procedure of appeal and application are fixed by the law itself.

To the present circular is attached a model rule which you will be good enough to submit to the general council.

37. By reason of the importance of control to exercise upon the operation of the law (see above 11 and the following), you will be good enough to call the attention of the departmental assembly to the provisions of the model rule relative to this control, and make, to that effect, all the useful suggestions in view of entering upon the budget of 1914 the necessary credits.

38. On the other hand the general council must approve, within the limit of from 5 to 7, 50, the rate of allowance determined upon by each township; as the deliberations had upon this subject by the municipal councils may not all reach you in time to be submitted to the general council for its approaching session, you will ask from the general council to give to its departmental commission a special authority for the purpose of approving the rate determined upon by the townships, and which will have reached you too late.

39. Thus, from its next session, the General Council will be called upon by you to deliberate upon:

1. Upon the adoption of the departmental rule.
2. Upon the approval of the communal (township) rate which will have reached you.
3. Upon the disposition to give to the departmental commission for the approval of the township rates that will have reached you later.
4. Upon the insertion in the budget of 1914 the credits to cover the application of the law for this article.

A circular of the 14th of May, 1910, invited the Prefects to open an inquiry as to the large families open for assistance; the total results had been published in the Official Journal of the 10th of April, 1911. Your files must have preserved the documents of this inquiry in regards to your department; you will be able to draw from them some useful indications in view of making these budgetary provisions.

But you will not lose sight of the fact that the present law is applicable to a category of persons, greatly in excess of that which had been taken as a base for inquiry.

#### *"B" Municipal Councils*

40. In regards to the Municipal Councils, the first act shall be to fix from 5 to 7, 50, the rate of the monthly allowance. You will ask him to make all haste so that deliberation may be had upon the subject at the August session, and be transmitted to you forthwith so that you may submit them, if possible, for the approval of the General Council. But the Municipal Councils

obviously cannot respond to this request without knowing at least along the general lines the economy of the law as it had been explained in paragraphs 1, 2, 3 and 4 of the present circular.

It will be your duty to submit, without delay, these indications, and all others that will be useful to you, to the knowledge of the Municipal Councils.

41. You will also indicate to the Municipal Councils that they will have to compose a list of beneficiaries at the session of November next; therefore, the administrative commissions of the Bureau of Assistance, will have to establish, in time, the preparatory list of which they have charge, along the written demands which will have been addressed to them by those interested.

42. At the November session the Municipal Councils must, in addition, insert in their budget credits necessary for the application of the law and its execution in 1914; the preparatory inquiries of the Bureaus of Assistance will furnish them useful indications.

43. The law contains a special provision of the highest interest, the effect of which will without a doubt be very grave, viz: That is article 13, which modifies the law of the 23rd of December, 1912, in respect to cheap dwellings.

Special instructions for the application of this article will be addressed to you by the Secretary of Labor.

The assistance for large families presents such great social interest, it answers such a profound sentiment of the nation, that I am assured in advance of the excellent reception with which this new law will meet. Certainly, the correct application of the legislative provisions of this nature, impose upon various persons, and bodies called upon to help, marked excess of labor; administrative commissions of the Bureaus of Charity, and assistant secretaries of these commissions, Municipalities, Mayors and Municipal Councils, Cantonal Commissions of Appeal, Departmental Commissions, General Councils, without forgetting the various collaborators of the Prefectorial Administration, and yourself, all must make one great effort, so that in the midst of the difficulties and the ground laying inevitable at the beginning, they should insure by the first of January, next, an efficient administration of this new law.

I count upon you, Mr. Prefect, to encourage and to lead and to guide all these efforts, and to impart information to all, to those who will have charge of its application, and then to those who will be its beneficiaries, the character, the sense and the highly patriotic purpose of this law, by which the Republic continues the methodical elaboration of its great work of social solidarity.

L. L. KLOTZ,  
*Secretary of Labor of the Interior.*

#### ANNEX "A "

Plan of the Departmental Rule of the Administration for the aid of large families.

##### ARTICLE I

Administration of public assistance to large families is instituted in the Department in conformance with the law of the 14th of July, 1913.

##### ARTICLE II

This Administration is headed by the Prefect.

##### ARTICLE III

The Prefect exercises the power, in the interest of this regulation, after the decision of the General Council, in all matters dealing with the domicile of the assistance, or those assisted.

##### ARTICLE IV

The Prefect, in regards to the beneficiaries within the scope of the Departmental charge, proceeds to the investigation of the applications, and submits them to the Departmental Commission, with the opinion of the Mayor of the Township, and his own suggestions.

##### ARTICLE V

The rate of monthly allowance to those assisted that come within the Departmental scope of charity, is the one determined upon in the Township where they live at the date of their application.

ARTICLE VI

The monthly rate arranged by the Municipal Councils with the approval of the General Council, and of the Secretary of the Interior, may be revised every five years.

ARTICLE VII

The Administration has control over the persons assisted, and the question of the domicile.

ARTICLE VIII

The control in reference to the individuals assisted reaches into the examination of files, if those had been regularly constituted, and if they did not contain some decision capable of improvement by competent jurisdiction.

It also contains, in order, the dates upon which the allowances should be suppressed or reduced.

It also keeps record of the death of any infant entitled to allowance, so that the aid may be reduced or suppressed, according to law.

ARTICLE IX

The control as to domicile contains all useful verifications. It particularly searches:

1. To see whether the death of children included in the preceding Article, has been regularly marked in the Registers of the Townships, and brought to the knowledge of the Prefect.

2. To see whether children between 13 and 16 years of age, working under contract as apprentices, continue their work in an effective fashion, and under legal conditions.

3. If some of the beneficiaries of this charity do not possess sufficient resources to bring up their children at their own expense, and should not therefore be eliminated.

4. If the help that should be given in goods is really given, and under the conditions determined upon.

ARTICLE X.

Each year at the August session the Departmental Commission shall submit an account to the General Council of the ad-







(b) the compulsory institution of the *bureau ouvert*; and (c) the provision of a fixed minimum scale of payment for boarding out.)

LAW OF JUNE 27TH, 1904, WITH EXTRACTS FROM THE OFFICIAL  
CIRCULAR OF JULY 15TH, 1904

Article 1. Children qualified for relief under this law shall be minors,\* placed under the protection or the guardianship of the public relief authorities.

Article 2. The child relief service (*service des enfants assistés*) shall embrace †:

Class (1) Children termed "children temporarily relieved" (*secourus*).

Class (2) Children "deposited" with the relief authorities (*en dépôt*).

Class (3) Children "under care" (*en garde*).‡

These three classes shall be under the *protection* of the relief authorities.

Class (4) § Foundlings, deserted children, poor orphans, children who have been ill-used, abandoned or morally abandoned. This class shall be placed under the guardianship (*tutelle*) of the relief authorities, and shall be termed "pauper foster children" (*pupilles de l'assistance*).

Article 3. A "child temporarily relieved" (Class 1) is one whom its mother cannot rear, or bring up, for lack of means, and for whom temporary assistance is granted with a view to preventing its abandonment.

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The notes appended to this law are derived largely from the Official Circular of July 15th, 1904.

\* They are mostly children under sixteen, though rare exceptions above this age are allowed.

† The prime distinction as regards relief to children is between: (a) *pupilles de l'assistance*, for whose support the relief authorities are wholly responsible and to whom the latter stand as parents and guardians; and (b) other children for whom relief, either temporary or for an indefinite period, is provided, but to whom the relief authorities are not in the position of parents and guardians.

‡ This class, so far as the relief to the child is concerned, practically belongs to the class of "pauper foster children" (see Article 6), the relief authorities acquiring the right of custody, though not that of the disposition of property.

§ This class comprises those children who prior to this law were, *par excellence*, the *enfants assistés*.

Article 4. A child "deposited" (*en dépôt*), shall be one who, being left without means of subsistence in consequence of its father or mother being in hospital or prison, is temporarily received by the relief authorities.

Article 5. A child "under care (*en garde*)" \* shall be one the custody of whom has been entrusted to the relief authorities by the court of justice, under articles 4 and 5 of the law of April 19th, 1898.

Article 6. The class of pauper foster children (*pupilles de l'assistance*) shall comprise:

(a) Children, born of unknown parents, who have been found anywhere or brought into a receiving ward (*depositaire*).

(b) Children, born of parents who are known, who have been deserted by the parents in such a way that it is impossible to reach them.

(c) Orphans whose father, mother and relatives in ascending line are dead or cannot be reached, and who have no means of subsistence.

(d) Children whose parents have been by authority deprived of their parental rights, in virtue of Division I, of the law of July 24th, 1889.

(e) Children admitted to relief under Division II. of the last-mentioned law.

#### *Children Relieved Temporarily (Secourus)*

Article 7. Relief for this class is granted to enable a mother † in poor circumstances to keep and rear her child, or to place it out to nurse. The relief may be given in the name of the nurse.

The amount, method, and duration of relief shall be determined by the General Council.

\* This class comprises those children who prior to this law were, *par excellence*, the *enfants assistés*.

† The mother may be a widow, or deserted or divorced wife. Temporary relief to the parent will be given whether the child is legitimate or illegitimate, since "the Poor Laws in no case admit this distinction."

The amount of the relief to be given in such cases will be fixed by the Council General, subject to the minimum tariff fixed by the finance law. It had become the practice to allow too small sums to parents in these cases, and the object of the legislature is to secure that the amount of relief given to the mother shall be not less than the amount which is paid to a person with whom a child is boarded out for its maintenance only (*prix de pension*), unless the circumstances of the parent clearly justify a smaller sum.

Relief shall be discontinued or reduced if the mother ceases to be indigent. It may be kept up even after the mother and child have left the department.

If the child is legitimized, the mother may be granted a premium, to be fixed by the General Council, and in such a case may continue to receive temporary relief.

### *Pauper Foster Children (Articles 8 to 28)*

Article 8. The *Préfet*, with the advice of the General Council in each department, shall designate the establishments at which children may be presented for admission to relief.\* The place where presentation is made shall be open day and night, and no one but the official in charge shall witness it.† Admission may be granted on written demand addressed to the *Préfet*.

Articles 9 and 10. The official in charge (who is to be appointed by the *Préfet*)‡ will inform the person presenting the child that the mother may, if she keep the child, receive the relief provided for in Article 7, and, especially, an immediate grant to meet present needs, and will also point out the consequences of abandonment (*see article 22*).

The person presenting is questioned as to the child's age, place of birth, and name, but may refuse information without prejudice to the child's admission; and no further enquiry shall be made.

If the person refuse the relief offered under Article 7, the official in charge shall at once transmit to the *Préfet* full particulars, but may at once receive the child provisionally if in his opinion it belongs to the classes of children defined in class (4) of article 2, or paragraphs 2 and 3 of article 6, and if he con-

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\* Usually "the receiving ward" (*depositaire*) will be a section or ward of an existing almshouse (*hospice*).

† The creation of a *bureau ouvert*, i. e., of the free reception of children without formality or compulsory interrogatories, and under conditions of secrecy, is a feature of this law. The institution which existed under the early French Poor Law, *le tour*, or place wherein each commune a child might be left by its mother, without being herself seen, is thus revived, but with the difference that the mother is to be seen, interrogated, and every endeavor is to be made to induce her to receive temporary relief and to keep the child. It has been established by the decree of January 19th, 1811, but was gradually abolished.

‡ The official in charge will in all cases be a woman.

siders that the case cannot wait for the *Préfet's* decision without risk to the child.

### *Guardianship*

Article 11. The protection of all children relieved, and the guardianship of pauper foster children, shall be exercised by the *Préfet* or his delegate, the departmental inspector; except in Paris, where the director of public relief takes the place of the *Préfet*.

Article 12. The official acting as guardian shall be assisted by a "family council" (*conseil de famille*), formed by a committee of seven members elected by the General Council (of the Department).

Article 13. The guardian may refuse consent to the child's marriage, to his emancipation, etc.

Article 15. Custody of money and the management of property belonging to pauper foster children shall be entrusted to the treasurer general,\* or in Paris to the director. Money must be deposited in the National Savings Bank or invested in government bonds. The official acting as guardian may authorize the withdrawal of such moneys for the child's interest.

The family council may, when the time comes for a child to cease to be under its guardianship, decide to pay one-fifth of its property into the National Savings Bank with a view to a pension.

Article 16. Income from the child's property goes to the Department up to the age of eighteen years to compensate for his maintenance, though the *Préfet* has power to order some portion to be returned to the child.

Article 17. A child reclaimed by its parents may, with the consent of the guardians and the family council, be sent back to them. The authorities may, however, require the child to be only provisionally returned to its parents, subject to their continued supervision for a year at least.

The parents, in such a case, will be required to repay the cost

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\* The law thus takes the administration of the children's property away from the almshouse authorities, and gives it to the finance officer of the Department.

of maintenance, in a lump sum or in instalments, unless expressly relieved of the charge.

Article 18. In the case of a child being claimed by others than its parents or grandparents, the official guardianship will usually still be maintained.

### *Boarding-out and Supervision*

Article 19. The establishment of a "receiving ward" (*depositeaire*) within any almshouse shall be sanctioned by the *Préfet* with the advance of the General Council. A "receiving ward" may be opened in any building belonging to or leased by the Department, subject to the approval of the Public Health Committee of the Department.

Infants of tender years shall be placed in a *crèche*, others in a special part of the building.

Article 20. A child shall not be retained in a receiving ward for longer than his state of health requires.\*

Article 21. Children under thirteen years of age shall be usually boarded-out † in families living in the country, brothers and sisters being as far as possible kept in the same family or at least the same village.

Article 22. The child's place of residence shall be kept secret, but the mother or the person presenting the child shall be kept informed of its existence.

Article 23. Payment to the nurse shall consist of: (a) A fixed wage; and (b) a lump sum, termed a "premium on survival." ‡

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\* A child is to be kept in the receiving ward as short a time as possible. Such an institution is necessarily of confined space and if part of an almshouse the general atmosphere of the place is considered ill suited to develop a child. Only three classes of children should be in the receiving ward — those waiting to be boarded out; the sick who can be better attended there; those suffering from an infirmity who cannot properly be boarded out at all.

† Boarding out is in all cases to be preferred to maintenance in an orphanage. Life in the country is to be strongly recommended, as offering those children whose birth or early years have left traces of weakness or disease a better chance than in towns. This plan has been universally followed in the departmental service for many years. There will, of course, be well understood exceptions, e. g., in the case of older children who have previously lived in towns.

‡ The *prime de survie* is obligatory. The gratuity referred to in the last sentence is optional and it is open to the Department to award various gratuities on any scale it pleases.

The latter is granted when the child has completed fifteen months, and is calculated on the number of months that the child has been in the nurse's charge.

A person who has brought up a child for ten years with proper attention, including attendance at school, may be given a gratuity by the General Council, on the child's attaining the age of thirteen.

Article 24. An infant of less than seven months may not be entrusted to a nurse whose last child is not over seven months old.

Article 25. A person bringing up a child (*nourricier*) shall be liable to the same obligations as to education that a parent is. \*

Article 26. The cost of maintenance (*pension*) shall be paid to the person bringing up the child, up to the completion of its thirteenth year.

After the payments have ceased the child shall be apprenticed, preferably to agriculture, and given an outfit. A written indenture is required. The child will reside with the person who has brought it up. Part of its wages shall be invested.

Article 27. The duty of supervision exercised by the inspectors and assistant inspectors shall apply to all pauper foster children and to children temporarily relieved (Article 7), and shall be carried out by home visiting.

Article 28. The duty of inspection in the case of a child boarded out beyond the limits of its own Department must be exercised by the local inspectors.

### *Administration*

Article 29. The child relief service is a departmental one and is to be regulated by the General Council. Its administration is in the hands of the *Prefêt*, and, subject to his authority, is

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\* That is, the person must see that the child attends school. Up to the age of thirteen the child must attend school and will therefore be of but little use to the person with whom it is boarded. After that age he will be apprenticed and preferably with the person with whom he has been boarded. The pay due to the child for his work will be apportioned by the inspector so as to provide for the child's clothing, pocket money and a certain amount of savings.



carried out by the Poor Law Inspector for the Department,\* and in Paris by the Director of Public Relief.

Article 30. The personnel of the departmental service shall consist of an inspector, of one or more assistant inspectors, and of one or more subordinate agents, all of whom are appointed by the Ministry of the Interior. The General Council may, if it thinks fit, appoint one or more lady visitors in connection with the relief to children.

Article 31. The *Préfet* shall submit the annual estimates of expenditure to the General Council: and he shall sanction and defray the expenditure. The treasurer (departmental) guarantees the actual payment. The accounts of the child relief service shall form part of the accounts required to be presented by the *Préfet* and the treasurer.

Acting on the advice of the departmental inspector, the *Préfet* shall be responsible for granting temporary relief, and admission of children to institutions, for determining where children shall be boarded out, and for appointing and dismissing all paid agents of the service.

Article 32. The departmental inspector shall recruit the staff of nurses, persons authorized to bring up children (*nourriciers*), and employers to whom children may be apprenticed; and shall see to the distribution of layettes and clothing, prepare contracts for boarding out and apprenticeship, and, generally, advise the *Préfet* on all measures necessary for the protection and guardianship of the children. He shall make an annual report to the *Préfet*.

Article 33. A committee appointed by the General Council shall meet periodically and consider the decisions affecting the service which have been given since its last meeting; shall give advice to the *Préfet* and report annually on the relief service to

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\* The *Préfet* is the executive power of the relief service, and acts through the inspector who is invested with his powers. The latter is therefore not merely to inspect the children as under the earlier system of child-relief, but to administer the service.

The inspectorate (which exercises supervision over the entire poor relief service) was first instituted by the Ministry of the Interior in 1828. (See Ministerial Circular of July 20th, 1828.) It has, however, been considerably extended since that date.

the General Council. The deliberations may be assisted by the inspector.

Article 34. All reports (departmental, inspectorial, etc.) shall be transmitted annually to the Ministry of the Interior.

Article 35. In Paris the duties imposed by Article 11, shall be performed by the Director through agents appointed by the *Préfet* on the nomination of the Director: each agent residing in the district in which the children are boarded out.

Article 36. All personal matters affecting children relieved are to be treated as secret.

Article 37. The general control of the child relief service is carried out by the general inspectors and lady inspectors of the service.

#### *Expenses of the Service*

Article 38. The parents and relatives in the line of ascent of a pauper foster child or a child of the class of those under the care of the relief authorities shall be held liable to repay the cost of maintenance.

Article 39. Children whose parents are relieved temporarily (Class (1), Article 2) shall be held to be settled in the place of their birth: other children in the department where they are admitted to relief.

Article 41. Property of a Pauper foster child deceased, in the absence of an heir, shall lapse to the department, and be used to provide marriage portions for other children.

Article 42. Heirs of a child's property shall be bound to repay the cost of relief.

Articles 43 and 44. The receipts and expenditure for the child relief service shall form a special account in the departmental estimates. The expenses shall be divided into: (a) Expenses of inspection and of supervision; and (b) the expenses of the service itself.

Article 45. The expenses of the service itself (Class (b)) after deducting: (1) The cost of relief to children without a parochial settlement, which is borne by the State; and (2) the expenses re-

funded by other departments or the families of the children; and (3) the proceeds of police fines, income from bequests, etc., shall be defrayed in the proportions of one-fifth by the communes, and two-fifths each by the department and the State respectively.\*

Article 46. These expenses (and those in Article 45) shall comprise all those incurred in and about the treatment of the children, the pay of nurses and attendants, etc.

Article 47. The daily (inclusive) charge for maintenance in a receiving ward attached to an almshouse shall be fixed every five years by the General Council.

Article 48. The expenses of inspection and of supervision shall be borne by the State.

Article 49. The income applicable to the child relief service shall comprise: (a) Grants in aid made by the State and the department; (b) the proportion borne by the Communes; (c) repayments of cost of relief by families, etc.; (d) police fines; (e) income from property and capital (*see* Article 16), property inherited (*see* Article 41), and income from gifts and legacies.

Article 51. Marriage portions for pauper children relieved may be provided out of the income of the relief service.

Article 55. A table of the minimum amounts to be given by way of temporary relief (for children of Class (1)), to be paid in salaries to nurses of *primes de survic*, and of rates of pay for boarded-out children shall be published for each department and shall hold good for five years.

The expenses to which this table of charges will apply, as well as the furnishing of layettes and clothes for children under thirteen years of age, and the cost of their medical relief constitute obligatory expenses for the department.

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\* Under the older law the State contributed only one-fifth of the expenses. The change affords an instance of the marked tendency to make poor relief increasingly a national burden.

As regards the portion of the cost which is to be defrayed by each commune, a department may make its own rules of apportionment; but a commune in which no child is in receipt of relief will not on that account be exempt from contribution.

## SECTION VII.—STATISTICS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Indoor relief.
2. Outdoor relief.
3. Medical relief.
4. Relief to children.
5. Summary of numbers relieved and cost of relief; note on finance of poor relief.

1. *Indoor Relief*

Persons receiving institutional relief are maintained in: (a) The ordinary communal establishments, known as *établissements hospitaliers*, and comprising hospitals for the sick, almshouses, primarily for the aged and incurables, or establishments serving both purposes; some of these have orphanages attached to them, and under the same management; (b) various local establishments, such as orphanages, aged poor homes, and *crèches* for infants, which are public institutions supported by endowments and subventions from the communes; (c) casual wards (*depôts de mendicité*), and asylums for the insane, supported by Departments; (d) a few national institutions supported by the State, for the relief of the insane, deaf and dumb poor, and the blind.

As regards the institutions classed under (a) above which have been founded in the past mainly by private endowment, statistics show that the large majority of communes have no such establishment, and under the older French Poor Law, inhabitants of these communes were unable to obtain indoor relief, unless their own commune had contracted with a neighboring commune, for the admission of its poor. Under the laws relating to sick, infirm and old-age relief, however, an attempt has been made to remedy this state of things\*: (a) By transferring the immediate responsibility for the relief of the principal classes of poor, who require indoor relief, to the civil authority of a wider area than the parish, the Department and empowering it to utilize for the purpose all the available accommodation in the Department; and (b) by direct State subvention to meet the cost

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\* An official inquiry in 1890 showed that out of 53,000 beds available for sick in the communal hospitals, 15,000 were unoccupied.

of maintenance of patients and alterations to or creation of buildings, with the result that old hospitals have been enlarged and new hospitals or almshouses constructed.\*

The total number of public establishments classed under (a) above was in 1904, 1,826, with accommodation of 177,880 beds; those under (b) and (c) numbered 165 (excluding lunatic asylums), with 19,459 beds; and those under (d) 10.

### SWITZERLAND

In Switzerland poor relief is administered by the cantons. There are two Federal laws pertaining to the matter. The first, of 1874, provides for freedom of inter-cantonal migration and settlement. The second, of 1875, requires that medical relief be given to non-settled poor by the canton of residence. Army veterans and their dependents also receive a small amount of relief from the Federal Government. The several communes are under obligation to give relief, according to the laws of most cantons, but in some cases the obligation is limited to natives by birth or adoption of the commune.

Under a law of 1897, a few cantons, including Berne, have extended the obligation to all classes, subject, however, to claims for reimbursement on the district of settlement.

The relief funds are secured chiefly by the communes from the communal property, which, though large in some cases, may be supplemented by special rates raised for the purpose. In most cases, the canton itself helps largely in the work of poor relief, by giving grants-in-aid where the expenditure of a commune exceeds a certain percentage of its assessment or on other fixed scales, and by providing and supporting institutions, for various classes of poor, for example hospitals, deaf and dumb institutions, workhouses and lunatic asylums. The larger communes provide poorhouses, which are quite common in the communes in the northern part of Switzerland.

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\* The encouragement given to enlarge hospital accommodation is considered officially to be meeting the needs of the times in a satisfactory manner. The Report for 1900-1902 on Medical Relief says (p. 24): "In some districts there is too little accommodation, in others too much. . . . but taking everything into consideration the actual hospital accommodation is sufficient to insure relief in a relatively satisfactory manner."

While out-relief is the most prevalent form of poor relief, the old-fashioned system of swamping the wealthy inhabitants of a commune with the paupers has not yet died out.

The burden of poor relief is borne by the State and the community, the former paying about 60 per cent. The dependent children of Switzerland are, as a general thing, well cared for under government relief.

A child is regarded poor when it does not have three good meals a day. The standard of food is higher than most cantons, especially in the outlying districts. The citizens assume responsibility of poor relief in their vicinity.

The feeling of the citizen, and he is generally upheld legally, is that poor relief must come from the State if he is in need of it, and it seems that more attention is paid to the wants of children than to adults. I believe that this is partly due to the fact that there are so many children in Switzerland, who are direct charges on the State.

Sixty per cent. of the marriages of the lower classes are marriages contracted as a result of pregnancy. The institutional relief is regarded unwholesome, therefore 80 per cent. of the children at least, are given relief either with their own parents or foster guardians. In 1912 for example in the city of Berne there were 153 children in families as against 13 in institutions.

The rates given per child is about \$4 per month but clothing is also provided when the child enters the family, and medical service is always provided when necessary.

The rules governing schooling under poor relief are more strictly observed than those of other children. Milk is provided in the schools for any children that need it.

Children are usually looked after, both illegitimate, orphans and other poor children, until they are 20 years of age, and each guardian must report every two years (after the age of 14), as to the well-being of the child, until he is 20 years of age.

Most of the children are boarded out with farmers or mechanics; but they are not allowed in families where there are other grown-ups besides the guardians, except servants. Wherever it is possible, children that are related to each other are placed together.

Special care is taken in the cases of widows. The chief con-

cern of the community is whether the widow can provide clothes and food for her children adequately and if not, relief is given.

As soon as the children reach the ages when the mother can safely leave them they generally supplement the relief given by doing some work, but where the children are small, outside work for widows is not encouraged by the authorities. They prefer to have the mother remain at home to take care of her children.

### Berne

The poor relief in Berne, the Capital, is considered the best of all of Switzerland. The Central Bureau of poor relief is situated in this city. The city is divided into 30 districts with 90 inspectors. Every little town has its districts and the inspectors report to the Central Bureau.

Canton Berne has a population of 700,000. In my talk with Otto Lortscher who is the chief inspector and the official head of the poor relief of Canton Berne he made the following statement:

"I believe that the only place for children is the private home. I am opposed to children being kept in institutions. The children must go to school until 15 years of age when we endeavor to apprentice them to some trade.

"I find that the children become very much attached to the guardians and often care for them in later life.

"Each district has from 10 to 20 inspectors, each of whom has charge of not more than six poor relief families. These inspectors are citizens who serve voluntarily. They serve for terms of two years. The city government may appoint such committees with authority to compel them to serve in the same relationship as a policeman might ask a citizen to help him to preserve the peace.

"The inspectors visit children two or three times a year, and also reports are requested from the school teachers.

"As to illegitimate children, the new law of 1912 was made especially for them, and when they cannot be kept with their own mothers, are boarded out. The father is legally made responsible as to pay for the care, wherever he can be found."

Mr. Schenk, for eighteen years in charge of poor relief of the city of Berne, voiced the opinions of Mr. Lortscher and was especially insistent that any system by which a child is not kept in a

private home is detrimental to the child. "It is the only natural way to bring up children," he stated.

He also said that many of the parents of foster children become so attached to them, that they save the money given them by the poor relief authorities, and put it in bank for the children's use, when they reach an age where they can make good use of it.

One of the most efficient inspectors of Berne is Marie Burger, who has given 14 years' service to the special care of children.

She has 732 children in 135 districts, each of which she visits annually. Three hundred and forty-five of these children are looked after by the city until they are 18 years of age, even while they are self-supporting, and the majority of children are cared for until twenty under poor relief in this country.

Miss Burger stated that the children under this system are gradually absorbed in the population, learn trades, and become good citizens. Every effort is made to take the stigma of charity out of this system by making the recipient realize that he has a legal right to this assistance. Following are some of the principal laws governing poor relief in Switzerland.

#### FORM FOR ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

According to the new law of 1912 which takes care of illegitimate children until they are twenty years of age, the following forms are made out by the government department for the report of the guardian.

##### *Illegitimate Children*

Name of guardian (for the time).....  
 From ..... Until .....  
 Name of child..... Birth.....  
 Name of parents (when the child has been put under guardian;  
 why the child was taken).....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....

#### REPORT

(Health, School, Occupation, etc.)

Following are the principal laws of Switzerland concerning poor relief.



## SWITZERLAND

(a) *Canton of Appenzell Exterior*

*Able-bodied adult males and females, aged and infirm, and sick*; relief is entirely provided for by the local parishes.

What methods of public relief are adopted in dealing with the following cases:

Able-bodied adult males.

Able-bodied adult females.

Aged and infirm.

Sick.

Lunatics and imbeciles.

Children.

Widows (with or without children).

Women with illegitimate children.

The houseless and vagrants — *continued*.

*Lunatics and imbeciles*; relief is given by the parishes, but the Cantonal Government makes grants towards their relief out of the share which they receive from the alcohol monopoly.

*Children, widows (with or without children), women with illegitimate children, the houseless and vagrants*; relief is given by the parishes.

(b) *Canton of Argovie*

*Able-bodied adult males and females, widows (with or without children), and women with illegitimate children* are given grants of money and supplies of food, as may be found necessary. *Aged and infirm, sick, lunatics and imbeciles, houseless and vagrants*, are provided for in public institutions. *Children* are either put into families or homes.

(c) *Canton of Baleville*

*Able-bodied adult males and females* are provided, as far as possible, with work or assistance in money or in kind.

Natives of the canton who are *aged and infirm* receive weekly or quarterly grants of relief.

*Sick* persons in needy circumstances receive gratuitous medical aid from the cantonal hospital and are admitted to the infirmaries for a period of up to three months, or in extreme cases, six months.

*Lunatics* are admitted into the asylum for a period not exceeding six months.

Orphan *children* who are natives of the town of Basle are provided for in the home for orphans, in respectable families, or in institutions in other cantons.

In the case of *houseless and vagrants*, any disorderly, idle, or drunken persons are liable to detention for a period of six months or longer in a compulsory workhouse or house of correction. Habitual drunkards are detained in a reformatory for a period of one year or more.

(d) *Canton of Berne*

*Able-bodied adult males and females* whose income from wages does not enable them to obtain the necessities of life are temporarily helped, and may sometimes obtain tickets which entitle them to bread, coffee and milk, and fuel tickets which entitle them to wood in the cold weather.

There are no special regulations for the *aged and infirm*. They are given relief in the same manner as those who cannot work.

There are doctors who are paid by the commune to attend the poor. The *sick* person may choose which of the doctors of the quarter or the town he prefers. They are entitled to a prescription from a chemist. They are placed in a hospital if necessary, and women are given a grant towards the expenses of their confinement if they are in a position to need it.

*Imbeciles and lunatics* are also provided for by the commune. There is an institute at Grasburg for children who are orphans and have no means of subsistence and for children who are without means, where they are kept till they leave school.

There are no special regulations for giving relief to *widows, women with illegitimate children, the houseless and vagrants*, but supervision over beggars is strictly observed.

(e) *Canton of Geneva*

Lodging and food tickets are given to *able-bodied adult males and females*, and, if they prove that they can obtain employment outside the canton, their traveling expenses are paid.

The *aged and infirm* are placed in a home for the aged, but if they are able to keep house or live with relations they receive a

monthly grant of 8s. to 16s. Sometimes they are boarded out in families, generally in the country, to whom they can render some assistance.

The *sick* are placed in hospitals or convalescent homes according to their condition.

*Lunatics and imbeciles* are placed in the "Asile de Bel-Air."

*Sick children* are placed in hospitals, orphans in orphanages, deserted children are placed in homes.

*Widows with small children* and who require relief are given money, food, and fuel tickets.

The same treatment applies to *women with illegitimate children*. Fresh laws are contemplated respecting the *houseless and vagrants*. At present the regularians are ill defined, but vagrants are liable to imprisonment, or, in the case of foreigners, to being expelled from the canton.

#### (f) *Canton of Glarus*

*Able-bodied males and females* are assisted by the poor guardians as far as possible in finding employment.

*Aged and infirm* are housed in respectable families or in suitable houses for the care of the poor.

*Sick* persons receive timely medical aid, or, if necessary, they are provided for in the cantonal hospital or some other suitable institution.

*Lunatics* are placed in asylums and incurable cases are provided for in private or public institutions.

*Children; orphans, homeless, weak-minded, deaf and dumb or blind children* are placed in educational institutions or with respectable private families.

*Widows with or without children* are assisted by the poor guardians, either in food or in money, if their income is not sufficient to live upon.

*Houseless and vagrants*: Street beggars are to be arrested and to be handed to the poor guardians of their respective parishes; disorderly beggars who have been taken several times are to be punished by the police or, if not citizens of the canton, to be sent across the cantonal frontier.

(g) *Canton of Grisons*

It is the duty of the parish poor committees in the case of *adult able-bodied males and females* who are unable to find any employment to assist in obtaining or to provide such persons with work.

*Lunatics and incurable imbeciles* are provided for in the cantonal lunatic asylums, but no special provisions are contained in the Cantonal Poor Law (beyond that given in Answer No. 1), for aged and infirm, sick and imbecile persons.

*The children of persons who are in receipt of public relief*, but who appear to be in danger of being neglected, can be removed from the care of their parents. In such cases the relief given to the parents is withdrawn and the children placed either in an institution or with respectable private families.

In the case of the *houseless and vagrants*, such persons as are foreigners are sent on in the direction of their native parish. Native vagrants are sent back to their own parish, and if they are found begging a third time in this parish, they are detained in the Cantonal House of Correction, where they have to work.

In the case of *disorderly and lazy persons*, who have been warned without result, a punishment of one or two days' imprisonment on bread and water is imposed, and if they persist in their conduct they are detained in the House of Correction with hard labor.

(h) *Canton of St. Gall*

*Able-bodied adult males and females and aged and infirm* receive either temporary relief in grants of money, or, if permanent relief is necessary, they are provided for in one of the parish institutions for the poor.

*Sick* persons are cared for in the local infirmaries and hospitals, if special treatment be required which cannot be provided in the ordinary homes for the poor. Extreme cases are admitted to the cantonal sick and aged asylum.

*Lunatics and imbeciles* are cared for in the two cantonal lunatic asylums.

*Children* are housed in orphan institutions or in special cases in respectable private families.

*Widows and women (with or without children)* who are of good character are either given temporary relief in grants of money or permanently provided for in homes.

*Native vagrants and homeless persons* receive temporary relief in the shelters for poor. *Vagrants of foreign nationality* are temporarily lodged in the police cells until they are "shoved on" by the police (*polizeischub*). In the case of *notoriously lazy persons*, special resolutions can be adopted by the local authorities (which must be agreed to by the Cantonal Government), by which these persons have to undergo a term of confinement in the house of detention. The temporary relief of homeless persons who are passing through a parish in this canton is specially dealt with in a law passed in 1889 entitled: "The law for providing assistance for necessitous persons passing through."

(i) *Canton of Soleure*

*Able-bodied adult males and females* are given relief for a period of three or six months in the Cantonal Institute where work is compulsory. *The aged and infirm* are at present lodged in the cantonal hospitals or in the asylum, but an asylum specially for this class of persons is in course of erection.

*Sick* persons are admitted to the cantonal hospital or to the citizen asylum.

*Lunatics and imbeciles* are lodged in the cantonal lunatic asylum.

*Children* are provided for by the various societies for the care of the poor, which receive grants from the Government. They are either placed in families or lodged in any of the Swiss homes for children. There is no special provision for the relief of widows or women with illegitimate children.

*The houseless and vagrants* are given temporary assistance (food and lodging) at the principal places in the canton. Relief for a longer period with a limit of three months is only granted by admission to the compulsory workhouse.

(j) *Canton of Schaffhouse*

*Able-bodied adult males and females* are given work.

*Aged and infirm* are given outdoor relief and if necessary indoor relief.

*Sick* persons are admitted to the local or cantonal hospitals.

*Lunatics and imbeciles* are placed in asylums.

*Children* are provided for in families or in institutions.

*Widows, with or without children*, and women receive assistance and in certain cases the children are cared for.

The *houseless and vagrants* receive temporary relief and are then sent on to their native parish.

#### (k) *Canton of Thurgovie*

There are no provisions mentioned for the relief of *able-bodied adult males and females*.

*Aged and infirm* persons, in addition to receiving relief in accordance with their necessities, are supplied with occupation suitable to their condition, and are housed in families or in suitable public institutions.

*Sick* persons are taken care of in families or in the cantonal hospital, or are placed in infirmaries.

*Lunatics and imbeciles* are, if necessary, lodged in the cantonal lunatic asylum.

*Children* are provided for as described in the answer to Question No. 11.

As regards the *houseless and vagrants*, no begging of any kind is allowed. Citizens of this canton who are found begging or wandering about are conveyed by the police to their own parish, and in cases where the offense is repeated a punishment of three days' imprisonment, or six days' hard labor, or even fourteen days' detention is inflicted, according to the degree of the offense. Parents convicted of inciting their children to beg are punished for begging. Beggars and vagrants who are not citizens of the canton can be expelled from the canton, and on a repetition of the offense are liable to imprisonment extending to a period of one week; if found begging repeatedly, they are liable to punishment of from two to six strokes of the lash.

#### (l) *Canton of Vaud*

The law is the same for everybody, but if *vagrants* are found without any papers to show their identity, and if they do not belong to any "commune," they are turned out of the canton.

How far is the cost of public relief recoverable from persons relieved or others?

#### X. SWITZERLAND

##### (a) *Canton of Appenzell Exterior*

The repayment of public relief given is not compulsory by law, but the moral obligation to refund relief given exists. Relations of the receiver cannot be obliged, morally or otherwise, to refund.

##### (b) *Canton of Argovie*

Clause 11 of the Poor Law of 1904 enacts that every parish, as well as the administrators of those endowments or poor funds which are administered by the Cantonal Government, are authorized, in the event of any person who has received assistance from the local funds dying childless and leaving property behind, to retain out of such property the amount expended for assistance from any of these funds. There is no other provision for compulsory repayment.

##### (c) *Canton of Baleville*

The nearest relatives of persons, who have received public relief, can be required to repay the whole or part — according to their circumstances — of the costs incurred for relief. Repayment can also be demanded, if the persons relieved become better off, or if they leave any property at their decease.

##### (d) *Canton of Berne*

The authorities are directed to keep in as close a touch as possible with all private charity organizations. Those persons who are capable of supporting themselves are only helped temporarily by means of money, food and fuel, if they cannot obtain work. The expense is not recoverable, but relations pay if possible.

##### (e) *Canton of Geneva*

The authorities make careful inquiries respecting those persons who solicit public relief, and legal proceedings are insti-

tuted against them if they solicit it under false pretenses. The hospital tax of 2s. levied on every adult inhabitant of the canton, except wives living with their husbands, contributes towards the hospital expense for the poor, as it brings in from £6,000 to £7,000 a year.

(f) *Canton of Glarus*

In the case of persons who have received public relief and who come into property or leave property behind, the poor guardians can demand total or partial repayment, but as a rule only in such cases where relief was afforded to persons above the age of sixteen.

(g) *Canton of Grisons*

Clause 7 of the Poor Law provides that any person who has received relief and who subsequently comes into property is to refund the amount, provided that his so doing would not prevent him from earning his livelihood. In like manner, any local authority which has given relief to a person dying and leaving property may claim the amount of the relief afforded to be paid out of such property.

(h) *Canton of St. Gall*

Clause 32 of the Cantonal Poor Law of 1835 provides that, should any person who has received public relief subsequently become possessed of money by inheritance, gift, or otherwise, he must refund the whole or part of the cost incurred on his account, provided such repayment would not prevent him from earning his own subsistence.

This regulation does not apply to persons who were assisted when under sixteen years of age, unless specially decreed by the Cantonal Government. In the same manner, the estate of any deceased person who has been assisted will be subject to repayment of the amount of expenditure.

(i) *Canton of Soleure*

According to paragraph 32 of the Parish Law all persons who had completed their eighteenth year at the time of receiving



public relief are considered moral debtors for the amount of relief given, in the event of their being in a position at any future time to make repayment.

(j) *Canton of Schaffhouse*

Paragraph 10 of the Poor Law provides: Parents, grandparents, children and grandchildren are compelled to give each other assistance in case of destitution. If any of the above relations are unable to assist or if there are no relations at all the parish or canton provides the required relief.

(k) *Canton of Thurgovie*

Persons who have received public relief can be called upon to refund the cost incurred if they inherit subsequently, or if they leave any property at their decease. This regulation can, however, only be enforced in those cases in which relief was given to persons above the age of sixteen.

(l) *Canton of Vaud*

Should a destitute person to whom relief has been granted obtain a better position, he may be called upon to reimburse the sums received.

What special provision is made for the education, guardianship, and industrial training of children supported by public relief?

SWITZERLAND

(a) *Canton of Appenzell Exterior*

Provision is made for the education of poor children by educating them in the orphanage institutions. The orphanage committee also looks after the personal training of the children. Both the State and Relief Societies give grants for this purpose.

(b) *Canton of Argovie*

In each district of this canton there is a voluntary society for the relief of the poor, which undertakes the entire charge of poor

children. These societies are therefore also called "Societies for the care of Children." There are also several homes for poor children.

(c) *Canton of Baleville*

Provision is made for the guardianship of children whose fathers are deceased or unable to exercise their parental duties. Orphans who are natives of the canton — both boys and girls — are apprenticed to a trade or business, and some are educated to be schoolmasters.

(d) *Canton of Berne*

Children supported by public relief are forced to attend school. The school education being excellent, they are enabled to earn a livelihood on leaving school.

(e) *Canton of Geneva*

Special committees provide for the industrial training and apprenticeship of children supported by public relief. All children must attend the primary schools until fourteen, the education being undenominational, official and free.

(f) *Canton of Glarus*

Children are to be put to work at an early age and later on, if necessary, are to be prepared for such employments by which an honest living can be assured to them. Children who are neglected by their parents can be placed under guardianship.

(g) *Canton of Grisons*

No special provision in the sense referred to in the question is made for children supported by public relief, but the canton makes considerable grants out of the share which they receive from the federal alcohol monopoly, towards the cost of providing for, and the education of, children of inebriates who are under the care of the Cantonal Government or who have died. The amount of such grants varies from 25 per cent. to 50 per cent. of the cost of maintenance according to circumstances.

*(h) Canton of St. Gall*

The Cantonal Law of 1896 for providing for and educating poor children and orphans, enacts that such children, between the ages of three and sixteen, shall be placed with families, if possible of the same creed, or in special orphan institutions.

Children, who by reason of bodily or mental deficiency cannot be educated or put into families, shall be placed permanently in homes for the poor.

Children of destitute parents shall be treated as orphan children, and placed in private or public orphan institutions.

*(i) Canton of Soleure*

No special provision is made for the education or training of children supported by public relief.

*(j) Canton of Schaffhouse*

Public guardians are appointed, to whom the education, etc., of such children is entrusted and whose duty it is to render reports to the boards of guardians.

*(k) Canton of Thurgovie*

Children supported by public relief receive a moral and religious training, which shall promote their bodily and mental development.

*(l) Canton of Vaud*

There is a special institution managed by the cantonal authorities for the education of children supported by public relief.

## APPENDIX

## STATE OF NEW YORK AS REPORTED BY ENGLAND

A very interesting report of New York State is that compiled by the Royal Commission of England, dealing with poor relief for ten years, prior to 1906. As I cannot find anything of the kind in this country, I herewith present it for its comparative value especially that portion relating to children.

In a report of the State Board of Charities for the year ended September 30, 1907, it appears that in that year there were 143 homes for dependent children, caring for 31,943 children. The Board states that the children found in these institutions may be divided into the following classes:

(a) Orphans and deserted children who are supported at public expense and are not likely to be returned to relatives.

(b) Children whose parents are unable to provide a home for them or to pay for their support, and who are therefore placed in an institution at the expense of the public treasury or private beneficence.

(c) Children whose parents or guardians are unable to provide a home for them, but are able to contribute towards their support.

(d) Children who on account of improper guardianship, or the neglect of either parent, are committed to the care of institutions.

(e) Children who have been committed because of delinquency.

*Education.*— In a few instances the children of orphan asylums attend the public schools, but by far the larger number attend schools maintained within the institutions, which provide separate school equipment and teachers. From an inspection of these schools, it appeared evident that some of them were well equipped and apparently doing excellent work, but at the same time, in a large number of cases there was much room for improvement in equipment, in methods and in efficiency.

*Juvenile Delinquents.*— Certain institutions besides caring for destitute children also render relief to adults, especially women;

other institutions that are more or less correctional in character receive also children committed because of destitution, while others whose main purpose is to provide a home for unfortunate children occasionally receive children on judicial commitments for serious offenses. Although the most careful supervision over inmates may be exercised in having such mixed populations, it is evident that the child whose presence is due to his misfortune alone is in danger. With a view to safeguarding such children the Board of Charities on January 10, 1906, adopted the following rule:

“ No child between the ages of two and sixteen years, committed because of the destitution of his or her parents or guardians, shall be retained as a public charge in any such institution, which also receives and cares for destitute adults unless there is complete and continuous separation of such adults from such children. Nor shall any child under the age of sixteen years, committed because of the destitution of his or her parents or guardians, be retained as a public charge in any such institution which receives persons committed for crime, unless it is authorized by its Charter, or by General Statute, to receive both of such classes and unless their complete and continuous separation is at all times maintained.”

This rule came into effect on July 1, 1906.

*Boarding-out.*— Besides sending children to orphan asylums or similar institutions it will be seen from Sec. 2 of the Law relating to the care of indigent and pauper children and Sec. 56 of the General Poor Law,\* that County Superintendents of the Poor and other specified officers are empowered to provide for children in families.

## SECTION V.— STATISTICS

### A.— NUMBERS IN INSTITUTIONS RECEIVING PUBLIC MONEY

*Institutions Receiving Public Money, which are subject to the Visitation and Inspection of the State Board of Charities.*— The following table shows the number of institutions receiving public money, which are subject to the visitation and inspection of the State Board of Charities, together with information as to the num-

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\* See Extracts on pp. —.

ber of persons supported in such institutions during the year ended September 30, 1906, and the number of inmates remaining at the close of that year.

INSTITUTIONS	Number of institutions	NUMBER SUPPORTED DURING YEAR ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1906		Number of inmates on October 1, 1906†
		Total	By public funds	
State institutions.....	15	10,641	10,529	7,753
County almshouses.....	55	14,235	14,235	5,628
City and town almshouse institutions	25	77,373	77,373	9,126
Homes for the aged.....	27	1,780	548	1,369
Homes for the blind.....	3	92	51	74
Homes for children.....	117	48,737	37,986	30,618
Homes for discharged prisoners.....	2	519	188	67
Homes, temporary, for men and boys.	9	6,069	1,128	555
Homes, temporary, for women and children.....	8	2,661	1,287	225
Homes, temporary, for women and girls.....	13	1,976	788	615
Hospitals*.....	137	87,080	49,511	7,888
Hospitals and homes for consumptives.....	3	3,328	2,535	859
Hospitals and homes for epileptics...	1	191	191	219
Hospitals and homes for incurables...	3	230	181	135
Reformatories for children.....	4	856	582	544
Reformatories for women and girls...	12	3,069	1,800	1,570
Schools for the blind.....	1	178	178	156
Schools for the deaf.....	10	1,910	1,839	1,649
Total.....	445	260,925	201,020	69,050

The 69,050 beneficiaries on October 1, 1906, may also be classified according to their physical condition, as follows:

Aged and friendless persons.....	2,981
Almshouse institution inmates (exclusive of those classified below) .....	12,371
Blind:	
In almshouses .....	387
In other institutions .....	360
	747

\* Excluding State institutions and city and town hospital institutions, which are included under the first and third items of this list.

† The number of inmates on one day who were maintained at the public expense is not stated for all these institutions, but it may be approximately estimated at 51,000.

## Deaf:

In almshouses .....	99	
In other institutions .....	1,661	
		<hr/> 1,760

Children in homes (exclusive of those committed for delinquency included with juvenile offenders) .....

28,355

Indian children at the Thomas Indian School. ....

158

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28,513

Disabled soldiers and sailors.....

2,292

## Epileptics:

In almshouses .....	299	
In Craig Colony .....	1,053	
		<hr/> 1,352

Hospital patients .....

9,267

## Idiotic and feeble-minded:

In almshouses .....	1,598	
In State institutions .....	1,886	
		<hr/> 3,484

Juvenile offenders .....

3,966

Reformatory inmates (women and girls).....

2,317

Total .....

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69,050

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(a) *State Institutions*.— There are fifteen charitable institutions which are maintained by the State, and which are subject to the visitation and inspection of the State Board of Charities. They may be grouped as follows:

Industrial Schools and Training Homes.....	5
Institutions for Feeble-minded and Epileptics....	4
Institution for the Blind.....	1
Soldiers and Sailors' and Veterans' Homes.....	2
The Thomas Indian School.....	1
Hospital for Crippled and Deformed Children and Hospital for the Treatment of Incipient Pul- monary Tuberculosis .....	2

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The total number dealt with in these institutions during the year ended September 30, 1906, was 10,641. Of this number 10,529 were supported by public funds, and 112 by private funds. The number remaining in the institutions on October 1, 1906, was 7,753.

(b) *Almshouses*.— The total number of poor who were relieved in almshouses during the year ended September 30, 1906, was 91,608, consisting of 14,235 relieved in county almshouses and 77,373 relieved in city and town almshouse institutions and the city hospitals under public control, including the hospitals under the Trustees of the Bellevue and Allied Hospitals.

The numbers of inmates remaining on October 1, 1906, were 5,628 in county almshouses and 9,126 in city and town almshouses, etc., a total of 14,754.

These 14,754 persons consisted of 7,910 men, 4,873 women and 1,971 children under twenty-one years of age:

	INMATES ON OCTOBER 1, 1906		
	County almshouses	City and town almshouses, etc.	Total
Men.....	3,603	4,307	7,910
Women.....	1,902	2,971	4,873
Children under twenty-one years:			
Boys.....	65	1,065	1,130
Girls.....	58	783	841
Total.....	5,628	9,126	14,754

With regard to the comparatively small number of children, it is to be borne in mind that the law provides that no child between the ages of two and sixteen years may be relieved in an almshouse as a pauper.

With regard to the classification of these paupers, the following table is appended showing the numbers relieved on 1st of October, 1906, classified according to their physical condition:



	INMATES ON OCTOBER 1, 1906		
	County almshouses	City and town almshouses, etc.	Total
<b>CLASSES OF POOR</b>			
Able-bodied.....	783	1,301	2,084
Sick or infirm.....	3,800	6,184	9,984
Insane.....	34	57	91
Feeble-minded or idiots.....	612	986	1,598
Epileptics.....	110	189	299
Blind.....	171	216	387
Deaf.....	52	47	99
Children under twenty-one years not included under preceding headings.....	66	146	212
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>5,628</b>	<b>9,126</b>	<b>14,754</b>

The number of inmates of almshouses on October 1, 1906, showed a slight increase over the corresponding numbers in recent years as will be seen from the following statement:

YEAR	INMATES ON OCTOBER 1, 1906		
	County almshouses	City and town almshouses	Total
1902.....	5,552	7,594	13,146
1903.....	5,564	8,059	13,623
1904.....	5,588	8,573	14,161
1905.....	5,603	8,821	14,424
1906.....	5,628	9,126	14,754

(c) *Outdoor Relief*.—The number of persons who were afforded temporary (outdoor) relief by Poor Law officers during the year ended September 30, 1906, was 120,450 or 1.49 per cent. of the population (8,067,308, Census 1905). This total was made up as follows:

Number of resident poor .....	51,253
Number of non-resident poor .....	20,030
Number of transients furnished with meals or lodgings at almshouses .....	49,167
	<hr/>
	120,450
	<hr/>

These figures are as reported, but without doubt include, especially in the case of tramps, considerable duplication arising from the fact that an applicant may have been aided several times and counted each time.

Of the 120,450 persons thus relieved, 33,963 or 28 per cent. received the temporary relief in the forty-five cities of the State, having an aggregate population in 1905 of 5,700,675.

(d) *Children*.—Dependent children are for the most part relieved in special institutions or are boarded-out in families. As regards children in homes the particulars for the year ended September 30, 1906, show that 18,490 children were admitted and 18,119 discharged during the year, leaving 30,618 children remaining on September 30, 1906.

The following table shows the population of these institutions for children on September 30th of each year from 1896 to 1904.

SEPTEMBER 30, 1906	Number of institutions for children under supervision of state board	Number of inmates including non-paupers
1896.....	119	27,769
1897.....	121	28,380
1898.....	123	29,967
1899.....	123	29,440
1900.....	122	28,649
1901.....	121	29,241
1902.....	121	27,385
1903.....	119	27,800
1904.....	119	30,170
1905.....	119	30,247
1906.....	117	*30,618

\* The number of inmates maintained at the public expense cannot be stated, but it may be approximately estimated at nearly 24,000.

It thus appears that the population of the homes for children at the close of the year ended September 30, 1906, was 371 more than in the preceding year, and as compared with 1896 showed an increase of 2,849 or 10 per cent. As compared with the total number of children of school age in the State it appears that on September 30, 1906, about  $11\frac{1}{3}$  per cent., or four children out of every three hundred, were living in orphan asylums or homes for children, and that more than 4,000 of these children had lived in institutions for upwards of five years.

In addition to the homes for children which furnish reports to the State Board of Charities, there are a number of other private institutions not in receipt of public money, which are not, by a decision of the Court of Appeals, required to do so. It is estimated that 3,000 children are cared for in these institutions. Other children under public care though not necessarily relieved at the public expense are those placed out or boarded-out. In so far as reported, these numbered 10,271 at the close of the year ended September 30, 1906.

(e) *Medical Relief*.—The following statement shows the extent of the hospital system in the State of New York during the year ended September 30, 1907.

	Number of patients	Cost
Public hospitals:		£
Bellevue and allied hospitals.....	40,993	148,972
Other Manhattan hospitals.....	14,526	175,015
City hospitals in Kings county.....	13,856	60,972
Monroe county hospital.....	1,317	6,575
Public hospitals in four other cities.....	947	7,842
Total public hospitals.....	71,639	399,376
Private hospitals.....	83,872	.....
Total.....	155,511	.....

The total number of hospitals to which these particulars relate was 166.

Private hospitals, which are not in receipt of public moneys, are not included in these figures.

*State Hospitals.*—In addition to institutions for the feeble-minded and epileptic, there are two hospitals directly under the control of the State, one for the care of crippled and deformed children, the other for the treatment of incipient pulmonary tuberculosis. The numbers of inmates in these institutions on October 1, 1906, were 48 and 118 respectively. These are not included in the above table.

*Almshouses.*—The number of sick and infirm poor relieved in county and city almshouses are also not included in the above statistics.

*Dispensary Statistics.*—The following table shows the volume of dispensary work done during the year ended September 30, 1907:

	Number of persons treated	Number of treatments	Number of prescriptions
New York City:			
Manhattan.....	910,380	2,553,101	2,124,313
Brooklyn.....	114,136	310,872	187,272
Bronx, Queens and Richmond.....	18,371	45,519	28,317
Total.....	1,042,887	2,909,492	2,339,902
Outside of New York City.....	31,900	104,146	56,235
Grand total for entire State.....	1,074,787	3,013,638	2,396,137

#### B.—EXPENDITURE OF INSTITUTIONS RECEIVING PUBLIC MONEY

The following table is appended showing for each class of institution under the inspection of the State Board of Charities the aggregate expenditure during the year ended September 30, 1906, and also the total amount received during that year from the State, from the Boards of Supervisors, and from cities, towns and villages.

*Institutions receiving Public Money which are subject to the Visitation and Inspection of the State Board of Charities.*

INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIETIES	Total expenditure year ended September 30, 1906	RECEIPTS DURING YEAR ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1907		
		From the State	From boards of supervisors	From cities towns and villages
	£	£	£	£
State institutions .....	373,203	365,368	7,354	.....
County almshouses* .....	309,808	.....	309,808	.....
City and town almshouse institutions* .....	492,382	.....	.....	492,382
Dispensaries .....	31,903	.....	625	1,177
Eleemosynary educational institutions .....	27,818	.....	.....	108
Fresh air charities .....	38,311	.....	.....	5,790
Homes for the aged .....	70,128	.....	849	4,041
Homes for the blind .....	1,264	.....	.....	131
Homes for children .....	1,608,891	595	92,484	573,347
Homes for discharged prisoners .....	2,493	.....	63	761
Homes, temporary, for men and boys .....	4,115	.....	135	.....
Homes, temporary, for women and children .....	3,513	.....	.....	1,622
Homes, temporary, for women and girls .....	1,802	.....	62	403
Hospitals (other than state and city hospitals under public control) .....	1,396,236	2,159	12,405	152,737
Hospitals and homes for consumptives .....	56,663	.....	.....	34,642
Hospitals and homes for epileptics .....	12,864	.....	7,583	723
Hospitals and homes for incurables .....	7,855	.....	.....	2,924
Placing-out children in families, societies for .....	16,037	.....	2,942	9,585
Reformatories for children .....	27,049	.....	1,162	11,146
Reformatories for women and girls .....	93,074	.....	5,628	12,399
Relief for sick poor, societies for .....	1,039	.....	62	.....
Schools for the blind .....	51,157	6,002	914	367
Schools for the deaf .....	132,435	54,203	45,770	44
Totals .....	4,760,040	428,327	487,846	1,304,329
			2,220,502	

*Almshouses.*—The expenditure in connection with county almshouses, and city and town almshouses including city hospitals under public control, during the year ended September 30, 1906, amounted to £647,677. The items comprising this expenditure are shown in the following table:

\* Including expenditure on outdoor relief.

ITEM	EXPENSES DURING THE YEAR ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1906		
	County almshouses	City and town almshouses	Total
In-maintenance:	£	£	£
(Provisions, clothing, fuel and light, and medicines and medical supplies).....	90,364	258,290	348,654
Salaries of officers, wages and labor.....	54,469	132,415	186,884
Furniture, beds, bedding and ordinary re- pairs.....	16,725	27,798	44,523
All other purposes.....	13,935	53,681	67,616
	175,493	472,184	647,677

The total number supported in almshouses and public hospitals during the year ended September 30, 1906, was 91,608. The average cost per case was thus £7 1s. per annum.

*General Outdoor Relief.*—The amount expended on temporary (outdoor) relief furnished to poor with homes, and relief given by way of meals, lodgings, etc., to the homeless during the year ended September 30, 1906, was as follows:

	EXPENDITURE DURING THE YEAR ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1906		
	County authorities	City and town poor authorities	Total
Outdoor relief for the resident poor with homes.....	£ 131,366	£ 20,082	£ 151,448
Meals, lodgings and other relief for non- residents and tramps.....	2,949	116	3,065
	134,315	20,198	154,513

The number of residents temporarily relieved during the year was 51,253. The average value of relief was thus only £2 19s. per case.

*Homes for Children.*—The aggregate expenditure of homes for children during the year ended September 30, 1906, was £1,608,891. Of this amount £465,984 was in respect of maintenance charges (cost of provisions, clothing, fuel and medicines), and £279,069 in respect of salaries of officers, wages and labor. The sums received from the State, from Boards of Supervisors and from cities, towns and villages, amounted to £666,426.

*Medical Relief.*—The total expenditure of hospitals receiving public money (otherwise than State hospitals or city hospitals under public control) during the year ended September 30, 1906, was, as shown in the table on p. 464, £1,473,618, comprising:

	£
General Hospitals . . . . .	1,396,236
Hospitals and Homes for Consumptives . . . . .	56,663
Hospitals and Homes for Epileptics . . . . .	12,864
Hospitals and Homes for Incurables . . . . .	7,855
	<hr/>
	1,473,618
	<hr/>

The amounts received from the State, from Boards of Supervisors, and from towns and villages during the same year were £2,159, £19,988, and £191,026, respectively, or a total of £213,173.

As regards city and other hospitals under public control, reference may be made to the figures on p. 482, from which it appears that the expenditure during the year ended September 30, 1907, amounted to £399,376.

*State Hospitals.*—The total expenditure in respect of the State Hospitals for the Care of Crippled and Deformed Children, and for the treatment of Incipient Pulmonary Tuberculosis amounted during the year ended September 30, 1906, to £17,999.

*Dispensaries.*—The total expenditure in connection with dispensaries, so far as such expenditure is not already included under the finances of hospitals during the year ended September 30, 1906, was £31,903. More than two-fifths of this expenditure was met from fees of patients and from prescriptions, and from donations and voluntary contributions.

**REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE**

HON. AARON J. LEVY, *Chairman, State Commission on Relief for Widowed Mothers.*

DEAR SIR:— The undersigned for the special committee of the commission appointed at the meeting of the commission held at Albany on September 18, 1913, to take testimony, respectfully submits the following report:

The committee, which consisted of Commissioner Einstein, Chairman, and Commissioners Loeb, Burr, McCue, Pollock, Hard and Lindsay, followed a plan of procedure under which examiners of the commission were detailed to examine and make abstracts of the records of cases of widowed mothers dealt with by the Children's Bureau of the Department of Public Charities in the Boroughs of Manhattan, Brooklyn and Richmond, to which such mothers had as a rule, because of poverty, applied for the commitment of their children, and of a large number of cases dealt with by The Charity Organization Society of the City of New York; the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities; the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor; The United Hebrew Charities; The Brooklyn Jewish Charities; The Associated Charities and Churches of Syracuse; The United Charities of Rochester and the Charity Organization Society of Buffalo.

Testimony was also taken from representatives of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in New York city (which society does not keep family histories in detail, as do the organizations above mentioned); from those of the Society for the Cooperation of Charities, of Albany, and from a number of public officers in this city and State actively engaged in the work of relieving widowed mothers through the use of public funds. Reference to their testimony will be found in the pages of this report.

Following the completion of the abstracts of the case records hereinbefore referred to, meetings were held with the representatives of the organizations whose work for the relief of widowed mothers was under consideration, and testimony was taken with reference to the care and relief of the particular families reported upon by the examiners. In the opinion of the committee this was



the most practicable method of determining the value of the work carried on by such organizations for the relief of widowed mothers.

It was the rule of the commission, in carrying out this plan, to allow the officers of such organizations the fullest opportunity of examining the reports of the examiners of the commission, and of giving testimony having a tendency to supplement or to modify such reports, in order that a just and accurate basis for considering the work of the organizations in behalf of widowed mothers might be reached.

In conformity with an agreement made with The Charity Organization Society respecting information published about the cases of widowed mothers dealt with by such society, the explanations given by the district secretaries of that society are printed practically in full in connection with the individual records of the cases referred to herein.

## THE BROOKLYN BUREAU OF CHARITIES

In accordance with the plan of inquiry adopted, the committee took testimony from the representatives of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities on October 9, 16, 17, 23 and 24, 1913. To a great extent information was obtained from the paid employees of the particular districts of the bureau whose work was regarded by the general secretary of the bureau as being representative in its character.

At the hearings of October 9 and 16 the cases of widows dealt with in the Williamsburgh district of the bureau were considered. At these hearings the bureau was represented by Dr. Thomas J. Riley, general secretary, and Miss Jane V. Wisdom, the district secretary. The records of widowed mothers dealt with by this district since January 1, 1912, synopses of which had been made by an examiner for the commission, were given consideration.

In the opinion of this committee the facts hereinafter stated with relation to the individual families of widows, together with the testimony quoted, show clearly the absolute inability of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities to care in a suitable and adequate manner for the families of widowed mothers looking to it for assistance. Much more testimony along the same lines can be furnished if necessary. The committee realizes, however, the desirability of keeping this report within reasonable limits, and believes that the records presented are sufficient to indicate in a just and equitable manner the generally poor quality of the work which the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities has been carrying on in the interest of widowed mothers and their dependent children.

The facts and the testimony given with respect to some of these families are as follows:

## SYNOPSIS

Widow. (101-B) Two girls of 12 and 9; rent \$8 a month; husband dead a year and a half. He had tuberculosis. She applied a few months later. Had a tendency to tuberculosis; one child likewise. She was a capable mother — "all that was to be desired." No resources. Family was given special diet and \$3 to \$3.50 a week "pension." Did care-taking and cleaning and earned on an average \$4 to \$6 a week.

## TESTIMONY

The following testimony was given about this family:

Q. It leaves about two dollars a week for each member of the family to provide food, clothing, carfare and everything else. Have you in any way worked out a plan whereby that money was to be spent showing just what it ought to purchase? A. (Miss Wisdom) We try to group the items of expenditure under rent, food, fuel, lighting, clothing and other expenses.

Q. But at the moment you could not tell me whether you had worked out anything in this particular case? A. (Miss Wisdom) I did not in that particular case. I was not there at the time. We have come to the conclusion that the relief is inadequate in that case. The family is progressing. The conditions are favorable. It was an experiment almost; because it was felt of that family that it was perhaps unwise to keep them together. I am proposing to bring that up before the next committee meeting to increase the allowance.

Q. What would you suggest it should be increased to? A. (Miss Wisdom) I should judge it should be increased to \$5 a week."

## SYNOPSIS

Widow (202-B). With four children; the eldest a boy of fourteen earned \$4 a week. Others at school. Rent \$5 a month. Father died February 26, 1912. Mother has been troubled with asthma and has a goitre; also bronchitis which may, the doctors say, develop into tuberculosis if she tries to do washing and takes cold. She has had a hard struggle to support the family. Has been finishing on men's clothing and at one time earned from twenty-four to thirty cents a day. By acting as janitress her rent has been reduced to \$5 a month. The Brooklyn Bureau of Charities had been giving a pension of \$5 a week but had cut it down to \$3 a week since the boy of fourteen started to work.

## TESTIMONY

The following testimony was given in this case:

Q. Now, it appears, that this mother was in these four rooms with four children to take care of, and that the entire

income aside from what she earns herself is \$7 a week, \$4 from the boy and \$3 a week at present from the bureau, is that correct? A. (Miss Wisdom) That is correct.

Q. She has been earning from 24 to 30 cents a day finishing on men's clothing. What has she been doing lately? A. (Miss Wisdom) She is finishing vests at home, the same work averages about \$3.00 a week.

Q. Averages about \$3.00 a week, so that would make for the care of the mother and the four children an income of about \$10.00 a week. You are still continuing this pension of \$3.00 a week, are you? A. (Miss Wisdom) We are continuing this pension of \$3.00 a week and I might add that our new visiting housekeeper is taking up this case and is working out the family budget.

Q. When does that commence? A. (Miss Wisdom) This fall.

Q. I mean, when does she commence to do that? A. (Miss Wisdom) Two weeks ago.

Q. Now go ahead please. A. (Miss Wisdom) The rent amounts to \$1.25 a week; the food averaged \$6.00; carfare for the boy going to work \$1.20; that is carfare and lunches, I should say. The lighting runs about 25 cents a week, there is a balance of about \$1.00.

Q. How about the fuel? A. (Miss Wisdom) They have been including the fuel in their grocery bill; buying in small quantities.

Q. And then that leaves about \$1.00 a week to cover clothing, medical attendance, recreation and everything else that goes to make up a decent living for a family, does it? In your judgment that is sufficient to provide clothing for a family of five, medicines and the medical attendance and recreation? A. (Miss Wisdom) No, certainly not.

Q. Now, it appears that this woman, Mrs. I., has herself and these four children to take care of. It appears she is not a very strong woman, has been troubled with asthma, has a goitre, has bronchitis which the doctor says may develop into tuberculosis if she tries to do washing and takes cold. The doctor says the mother is only strong enough to

do light work — that, I think, is taken from your records — yet she is required to act as janitress; she is required also to do finishing on men's clothing and to take care of her house of four rooms, and the four children and herself. Don't you think that is a little too much to ask of a woman? A. (Miss Wisdom) From the results in this case I don't think so.

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (203-B). Three children under twelve. Rent for four rooms, \$9 a month. Husband died of tuberculosis in 1911. He left no insurance. Woman does day's work. In March while she was out working her youngest child, a boy of four, fell out of the window, fracturing his skull and breaking his arm. In May the boy of seven was picking up coal at the docks and was also getting wood. He appeared to be very frail and thin and white. The bureau gave \$2 to \$4 a week from February to September, 1913, and sent mother to the country in August. St. Vincent de Paul society sent the two older boys to country in August 1913. The bureau also gave diet of milk and eggs for five and one-half weeks in the summer.

#### TESTIMONY

“ Q. Now that seems to be a case where the mother does day's work, and gets besides that \$2.00 to \$4.00 a week from February to September? A. (Miss Wisdom) This woman has been getting \$4.00 a week.

Q. Please explain it then, Miss Wisdom? A. (Miss Wisdom) Since the 26th of June this woman has been receiving \$4.00 a week, and she is working, doing laundry work, most of it at home. She is perhaps out one or two days in the week.

Q. How much does she earn? A. (Miss Wisdom) She earns on an average of \$5.00.

Q. So that she gets \$9.00, out of which she supports herself and three children and pays \$9.00 a month rent. Now, is there anything else that you would like to tell us about that? A. (Miss Wisdom) I have nothing particular to say except that I think this woman is much more contented than she ever was before.

Q. Before her husband died? A. (Miss Wisdom) She worked during his life-time. I was going to say that during his life, these children have been in homes several times; before the death of the father and afterwards as well, and the mother worked. She has been accustomed to working all her life. She had to work even when her husband was alive, but she feels that she is having it much easier now."

Q. (Mr. Hard) Do you regard the income as sufficient? A. (Miss Wisdom) Yes.

Q. Now you don't think that this woman, having these three children, ought to stay home to take care of them and not go out to work? A. (Miss Wisdom) Why no, I would rather see her stay home and take care of them.

Q. Well, suppose that there was money enough so that she could stay home and take care of them, don't you think it would be a good plan to allow her to do it? A. (Miss Wisdom) Yes, that is to be preferred at any time.

Q. Would it affect her character to get sufficient money to keep her home? A. (Miss Wisdom) Rather have her make the effort on her own part.

Q. (Mr. Hard) Why don't you give her the money to stay at home and take care of the children? A. (Miss Wisdom) I don't think it is better to have them stay home and not do anything.

Q. (Mr. Hard) If your budget allowed it, would you give that woman enough money so that she could stay at home and take care of her children? A. (Miss Wisdom) Well, I will take that back; I doubt if I should.

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (204-B). Six children, the oldest 14. Rent \$6.50 a month. Father died in April, 1911. He was insured for \$180. Oldest boy has been referred to several places of employment but was turned away as too small. Bureau has been giving pension of \$5.25 a week since last February; from November, 1912, to February, 1913, gave a pension of \$2 a week. Mother does day's work and sewing at home; she earns \$4 a week. Two appeals were made for this family, in February and May, 1913.

## TESTIMONY

" Q. Now, here seems to be a family of seven with an income, all told, of about \$9.28 a week. Perhaps Miss Wisdom will kindly tell us how that budget is figured out? A. (Miss Wisdom) It is figured out by the Committee at the rate of \$1.65 for rent, \$6 for food, 25 cents for light, 45 cents for insurance; the fuel is supplied by the proprietor of the store in the next block, who was a friend of the husband and is very anxious to do that. That, I think, comes to \$8.35. The food item is smaller in this case. This is an Italian family, and I have put it at \$6 there because we find that the Italian budget is so different even from the Polish budget.

Q. Now, that amount (referring to the income) makes altogether about \$9.25 a week, and the budget amounts to how much? A. (Miss Wisdom) \$8.35.

Q. But you have children to clothe, haven't you there,—shoes and clothing? A. (Miss Wisdom) Yes.

Q. Don't you consider that quite an important element in a budget — shoes and clothing for seven people? How much is the balance? A. (Miss Wisdom) Ninety cents.

Q. And that, do you think, would be enough to provide clothing and shoes for a family of seven, recreation and other things? A. (Miss Wisdom) This woman happens to be a very clever needle-woman and she makes all her children's clothing and she does not often even get cast-off clothing; she buys pieces of new material and makes them up herself.

Q. She does day's work at home, does she? A. (Miss Wisdom) She does sewing at home; at present she very rarely goes to work outside.

Q. She earns about \$4 a week. Does it not seem to you really that this woman with six children to take care of, to make clothes for, to wash, to cook for, and all that, would have enough to do without having to do outside work? A. (Miss Wisdom) It looks like that. I hope I am not prejudiced, but I don't think so going there as I do."

## · SYNOPSIS

Widow (301-B). Five children, four girls under 11 years of age, and a boy of 8 years. Pays \$6 a month rent. Woman, by

acting as janitress, secures a reduction in rent to this amount. She also takes in one or two washings a week. Her church has helped by giving \$1 a week for groceries. The Bureau of Charities suggested that the woman bring her children to the day nursery and work in the Bureau's laundry and work rooms, but she felt it would be impossible to neglect her home to that extent. She said, also, that since the Bureau's visitor had called on her brother-in-law he had neither helped her nor recognized her in any way. Bureau has known family for seven months, but has not helped in any way.

## TESTIMONY

Q. What explanation have you to make in respect to that? This case seems to have been known to the Bureau of Charities since February 24, 1913? A. (Miss Wisdom) I might state that that was an incorrect statement; that was given out at the hearing of the case — that the woman was expecting confinement is not correct.

Q. It is not correct? A. (Miss Wisdom) No, and we have considered that there are other problems involved in this case besides those of relief. There is a question here of relatives who are in good circumstances and are interested in the family and have always been and would have been very anxious to assist by taking the children — taking two of the children — one relative wants one of the children; another another, and they all think it is the best thing for her to do. The relatives have given her a good deal of advice, and she doesn't wish to do that. She wanted to keep the boarders — to keep the children and keep boarders.

Q. What boarders? A. (Miss Wisdom) Boarders from the coal company where her husband had worked. She expected that she would get boarders and she preferred to follow that plan.

Q. Men boarders? A. (Miss Wisdom) Yes.

Q. Has she taken any? A. (Miss Wisdom) She has tried that for a time, but it was not successful; the boarders don't remain with her.

Q. I should not think they would with so many children. A. (Miss Wisdom) At that time she had a larger house. She



had five rooms and was paying \$12 a month rent; then she moved to this other house where she was paying \$6 a month rent.

Q. Has your committee considered this case? A. (Miss Wisdom) No, Mr. Hebbard, our committee has not. They do not meet in the summertime.

Q. (Mrs. Einstein) The mother is a perfectly good woman? A. (Miss Wisdom) Yes, she is a nice woman.

Q. And she is well qualified to keep her children, is she? A. (Miss Wisdom) Yes. I want to bring this case to my committee now, but my own feeling on the subject has been that it was reasonable to expect her to take advantage of her relatives' offer, for a time, at least, and that we should give her whatever other assistance she would require for the rest of her children.

Q. I know; but, you see, you have had the case since February 24th and apparently nothing has been done. A. (Miss Wisdom) I hoped she would listen to the persuasions of her relatives.

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (303-B). Three children, the oldest a girl of 12. Mother a book-binder, had earned \$9 a week for past seven years. Owing to a complete breakdown she had to give up her position and has since been doing day's work when she could get it. In July she applied to the bureau for aid to go to the country with the children for a few weeks in order to be able to return to her work in September, but the bureau could not find a place for her in time. The case was "closed" on August 30th, the record states.

#### TESTIMONY

Q. Now, there, you see is a widow apparently not very strong, with three children, the oldest being 12 and the youngest 9. Does that seem to be a case where something more should be done than simply receiving application and closing it? A. (Miss Wisdom) I have dealt personally with that woman myself. My recollection of the case is that through the visitor's report and that her final report

was that the woman was in a fairer condition to begin than she had been in the spring.

Q. Yes, but here we have a woman, you see, who had the three young children to take care of and who only earns \$9 a week, and actually broke down in May, had to give up her work and had only been doing a day's work off and on, if she could get it since. Certainly, it would seem to me, having a very precarious livelihood. Did the committee consider this case, do you know? A. (Miss Wisdom) Not in my time, Mr. Hebbard.

Q. What do you think about it? Does it not seem to you to be a case where something more should have been done? A. (Miss Wisdom) I can't speak now without refreshing my memory on the case.

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (305-B). Three children, the oldest a boy of 12; two girls, 8 and 5. Mother, not strong, worked in a bakery, but lost her place. Bureau sought to secure day's work for her and also gave her employment in its work-room. No relief given although the family was known to the bureau since May, 1911.

#### TESTIMONY

Q. Now, there is a woman with three young children, apparently; yet there is no record of any assistance having been given to her, as far as Miss Packard was able to discover it. A. (Miss Wisdom) I can only say the case was reopened in my time on the 7th of October and I have made plans to take up this case. I have an outline of further investigation to be made on the case. It has only been a matter of urgency in other cases that prevented its being taken up before now.

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (306-B). Five children, the oldest, a boy of 14, without his working papers, was earning \$4.80 a week. Other boys, 11, 8, 6 and 2. Mother makes vests at home and earns on an average, \$5 a week. She applied to the Bureau of Charities to

have her rent paid as she claimed she could support her family if aided in that way.

#### TESTIMONY

Q. Now, this case came under your notice May 23, 1913; what has been done in that case? A. (Miss Wisdom) I can't say much has been done but investigation.

Q. That is not, of course, very nourishing? A. (Miss Wisdom) It is another case which we have planned to take up at present.

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (307-B). Two boys; one 19, the other 8. Four girls, one of 19, the others 15, 10 and 7. The mother boards baby for which she received \$10 a month. The girl of fifteen had been sick for four months when the mother applied to the bureau for help in August but had then returned to work. The girl of ten had been threatened with tuberculosis. Family had depended largely on the earnings of the oldest boy, but he had been out of work two weeks when the mother applied for aid. They were dispossessed in August and the housekeeper said that the mother had gone to live with a married daughter and that the boy had found work. Case "closed" February 19, 1913, presumably because family had moved out of the district. The Bureau of Charities, so far as could be ascertained, did nothing in the case at this critical time in the family's history.

#### TESTIMONY

"Q. What would you say as to the reason for not doing more in that case? A. (Miss Wisdom) The family had a boy of nineteen. I considered him the head of the family. He had no employment. He should come to consult us about the employment, because we could do nothing about the dispossession until we could interview him, and he didn't come, and when our visitor went she found the family had moved away and that he had got employment himself."

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (310-B). This family came to the attention of the bureau June 2, 1913. She had four children, the oldest being 8

years of age. Paid eight dollars a month rent for six rooms. The father, a metal worker, earned sixteen dollars a week; he died May 14, 1913. He had been ill for a year with rheumatism and kidney trouble, but did not go to the hospital until two weeks before his death. His insurance of \$300 covered funeral expenses and debts. Relatives have aided and mother has paid her rent. The Bureau of Charities gave woman work-room and nursery permit and suggested that she do washing and use the laundry. She did not feel that this kind of work suited her, as she had pains in her back when she had much laundry work to do; she was also still nursing the baby. Mother tried cleaning work in lunch room and arranged to leave the two youngest children in the day nursery. The children then had to be vaccinated and the mother had to give up her position; she then took the children to spend every day at her mother's. The case was "closed" August, 1913.

#### TESTIMONY

Q. That was a case which apparently originated during your time and was closed during your time, Miss Wisdom? Wouldn't it seem to you that a woman with four young children like that, one of them only 1 year old, had about enough to do to take care of her charges? A. (Miss Wisdom) That was a case in which I was very much interested myself to begin with. I really wanted to do something for the woman; her relatives are very well situated and were giving some assistance. I could not get at what they really wanted to do or were willing to do and finally she gave up the work not on the child's account as much as because the work was not suitable.

Q. Now, this case is one that I think we can think about a little. Here is a widow with these young children, 8, 7, 3, and 1 year of age. What would really be a scientific way of dealing with a case like that? What would you consider the logical way of dealing with a case of that particular nature? A. (Miss Wisdom) Well, Mr. Hebbard, I had not come to a decision about the logical way of dealing with that family; it was impossible for me to get the woman to come to me after she went back to her mother's. I made several

visits, and had visits made, and I wrote her telling her that I would like to see her and I had no response, and she promised the visitor she would come in to see me on a certain day.

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (315-B). This family had been known to the bureau for ten years. Woman had, at her husband's death ten years ago, four children to care for; two of them, boys of 14 and 9, were step-children. The other two, her own children, were a boy of 2 years and an infant just born. After her husband's death the mother worked at washing and cleaning, trying to support herself and the children, with the result that she finally brought herself to the "Home for Consumptives." The two younger children are in the "Preventorium."

#### TESTIMONY

Q. Now, what was done so far as you know for that particular woman? A. (Miss Wisdom) Originally, when the case was known to the bureau, this eldest step-son was living at home and contributing to the support of the family, and the woman was doing cleaning in school buildings and the case was closed.

On October 23 and 24, 1913, the commission examined the cases of widows dealt with since January 1, 1912, in the Bedford-Bushwick district of the bureau. There were present at these hearings, representing the bureau, Dr. Thomas J. Riley, general secretary, and Miss Sarah I. Dissosway, district secretary. The facts and the testimony given with respect to some of these families are as follows:

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (316-B). Five children; the oldest is a girl of 11 and the youngest is but a few months old. The father died in April, 1913. The family was reported to the bureau in May by the school principal. The woman was at that time expecting confinement and was not able to work. The relatives had been helping but could do so no longer. The family was given two emergency orders for food, amounting to \$2.04; and was considered by the committee which felt that there was little possibility of keeping the family

together as there was no income and the mother would be unable to work for some time to come. A clergyman agreed to visit the family and to try to persuade the mother to place the children in an institution but found her unwilling to do so. He said that he would try to help the family through a church society and agreed that the bureau could leave it entirely in his hands. The case was thereupon "closed" on June 30, 1913. On August 7th a card was received from the mother stating that the baby had been born. It was found that woman's cousin had been living with her and was paying \$3 a month for a room and providing her own food. She expected to leave soon and to go to live with one of her married children. The mother asked the bureau if they would not pay the rent until the oldest girl could go to work. She was told this could not be done and that the bureau thought it best for her to put her four older children in an institution and take a room somewhere with the baby and support herself. She said that she would not give up the children. Ten days later the woman and her cousin were found at home working on trousers. She stated that it took between \$4 and \$5 a month for food and about \$5 a month for clothing. She usually earned about \$3 a week. The visitor asked her if she did not think it would be better to put the children in a home where they would be sure to receive enough food at least, but she said it would break her heart to part with the children. The visitor asked her how she had been able to live since her case was first referred to the bureau and she said that she had \$130 in the bank at the time of her husband's death and she paid the undertaker \$109, and there was no money left now; also stated she had used \$50 given her by the "union" at the time of the man's death, for living expenses. About the time she was confined she had no money left but relatives had helped her with food and the church society had sent her \$1. The bureau's supervising district inspector thought it might be best to wait a little and see if the mother was able to pay the rent herself, and if not suggested that the bureau pay three months' rent as an experiment and let the relatives help her with food. In September it was found that woman had moved, that her cousin had left her and that she could not pay the rent. Besides she was out of work on account of the dull season. When asked

if she thought she could manage if the bureau paid the rent for three or four months she said she thought she would be able to do so. On October 6th the bureau visited and paid the October rent of \$6. Mother was then earning only \$1.50 a week. Her sister is not able to help her.

TESTIMONY

Q. (the Chairman) Might I ask, I see the woman was working right after confinement, how long a time after confinement, do you remember? A. (Miss Dissosway) Work to take home.

Q. How long a time after? A. (Miss Dissosway) Oh very shortly. I would like to make a statement if I may before we discuss this case. I wish to speak to the Committee about our work with Italian families. The district in which woman lives is occupied very largely by Italians and we had an office right in that district for a long time and did a great deal of work and gave a great deal of relief to a number of families. We found that that was making an unsatisfactory condition in that neighborhood, and a number of Italians who are interested in the good of their own people came and told us we were ruining the families by giving relief as we were doing.

Q. (Mr. Hebbard) Did that include widows too? A. (Miss Dissosway) Yes, very frequently.

Q. Will you show us some case that that statement was based on so that we will understand just to what extent they were. A. (Miss Dissosway) I have not those cases with me. This statement was made, that was only a year ago; we had experience with the Italian families and we felt that we had to take a good many things into consideration with them that were not necessary to consider with other families; one thing very chiefly that appeared was that the Italian women, not only in the families who came to us, but in well to do families, took in sweatshop work, finishing trousers, and it was impossible to believe them. That district was one where there was a number of workshops that depended on the women doing that kind of work; we were subsidizing a sweating industry, and with the Italians too we have to re-

member the effect on the whole neighborhood. The Italians talked it all over among themselves and others and they felt that there was no use in giving relief to the families whether they needed it or not.

Q. In this case there is no reason at all to suppose they didn't need help, is there? A. (Miss Dissosway) Well, I was not speaking of this particular case at the time. I meant we thought we had to consider the effect on the whole neighborhood.

Q. In this particular case I presume you thought that the woman would have taken in work? A. (Miss Dissosway) Just the same as if we had subsidized the sweatshops; we have seen it repeatedly not only in this case but in other cases we visited.

Q. Do you suppose that if you had said to this woman who was left with four children and expecting another which has since been born: "We are going to provide a certain amount of help for you every week with the distinct understanding that you will not do this kind of work but will take care of your house," do you suppose that that woman would have refused that offer of assistance on those terms? A. (Miss Dissosway) I think she would have taken the offer of assistance and still take the work.

Q. Couldn't you have watched and seen if she had taken in work? A. (Miss Dissosway) I do not think we can watch enough.

Q. Wasn't it worth a trial with those five children? A. (Miss Dissosway) Well, may I mention in this case that we have had reports that the two boys were unmanageable even before the father died and that we thought that the mother was not what you might call an ideal mother.

Q. Isn't it, as has been suggested by charity workers, the work of the Bureau of Charities to try to make them better so that they will be able to take care of their children and families better? A. (Miss Dissosway) Now these boys —

Q. One was only seven and the other five, so that they were pretty young to be called unmanageable. A. (Miss Dissosway) Nevertheless not only in this case but in others



we continually have trouble with the boys; the Italian women have a difficult time to manage the boys, especially a woman who does not speak English as this woman does not, even where we have given relief.

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (31-B). Lives with sister who is also a widow. Have five rooms at \$11 a month rent. Came to the attention of the Bureau January 10, 1913. Husband died of tuberculosis in October, 1913. Bureau has paid rent since February, 1913. There are three children, two girls, aged 12 and 8, and a boy of 5. The mother works at home and makes \$4 a week punching holes in watch chains. The sister goes out to work and earns \$6 a week which, it is said, she has contributed to the support of the family.

#### TESTIMONY

Q. So that there are five people, two adults and three children and the Bureau is paying the rent of \$11 a month as I understand it. Is that right? A. (Miss Dissosway) Yes.

Q. And the sister is contributing her earnings — I presume though that she is contributing her board — she is paying her board? A. (Miss Dissosway) No, she turns in the whole of her money.

Q. The whole \$6 a week, she turns in the whole \$6 a week? A. (Miss Dissosway) Well, of course, she has to pay her carfare, but they put their money together and the sister has what she needs.

Q. Do you know really how much is left then to the mother, because I think if the sister had what she needed there would not be much left of this \$6. I know if I was a sister there would not be. That is, in other words, do you know how much this woman has actually to depend upon out of that \$10 a week to provide food and clothing and shoes and medicine and medical attendance and fuel and light for this family, do you know how much money she actually has? A. (Miss Dissosway) Well, I cannot remember how the budget was reckoned.

Q. Do you remember how much money the mother, the head of the family, has to provide all those things? A. (Miss Dissosway) Well, the mother handles all the money; the sister does not need very much for clothes.

Q. How old a woman is she? A. (Miss Dissosway) About 28 or 30 I think.

Q. It must be very unusual; at that age they generally need a great deal. No answer.

Q. Is that the total income, \$10 a week? A. (Miss Dissosway) Aside from the rent.

Q. The rent is paid, but you really don't know how much of the \$10 goes to this particular family? A. (Miss Dissosway) You have to count it all one family as they do themselves.

Q. You don't know really how much the sister takes out of the \$6 that she earns? A. (Miss Dissosway) I cannot say any more than I have said.

Q. You say she has what she needs. Do you know about how much that is? A. (Miss Dissosway) I do not know in so many cents. I know what her carfare is.

Q. (the Chairman) Do they ever come for assistance? A. (Miss Dissosway) No. Might I say that this family is one of the most satisfactory we have had; the home conditions have been explained and the children have been exceptionally well cared for.

Q. (the Secretary) I want to ask the budget in this case. A. (Miss Dissosway) The relatives have helped the woman, not only with clothing, but with small amounts of money.

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (40-B). There are six children, girls aged 14, 11, 8, 5 and girl and boy twins of 4. Their rent is \$11 a month for five rooms, but the Bureau has paid \$6 a month of that and the mother pays the remainder. The woman does washing at home and makes about \$3 a week. The fourteen year old girl is working as a clerk in a department store and earns \$3.50 a week. The bureau is now giving \$5 a week besides the \$5 a month for the rent, and the church is giving \$2 a week.

## TESTIMONY

Q. How long has the Bureau been giving that? A. (Miss Dissosway) The pension has been different amounts at different times.

Q. How long has it been giving \$5? A. (Miss Dissosway) The \$5 has been given just recently.

Q. I know, but when? A. (Miss Dissosway) Within two weeks.

Q. How many payments of \$5 has she had? A. (Miss Dissosway) Two payments of \$5. From April until two weeks ago she was given \$7 a week, because the girl was not working.

Q. Does this woman have to go out to work? A. (Miss Dissosway) No, she doesn't go out at all.

Q. Tell us anything further you would like to. A. (Miss Dissosway) Well, I think this is a family where the conditions have been satisfactory and where there has been plenty of relief given. Then, aside from the budget, we have reckoned a margin of \$1.75 a week and besides that the Church gave coal in the winter and the relatives helped with clothing and with the insurance. I might say that with a number of these cases there is a margin after the budget is made up.

Q. But that helps, however, with such things as shoes and clothing? A. (Miss Dissosway) Which we depend on relatives for.

Q. (Commissioner Burr) How much did this woman actually have to spend, not since the girl has been working, but before? A. (Miss Dissosway) Before that she had \$7 a week cash from us and \$3 that she made herself, \$10, and the \$2 from the Church which, although it is not given to her in cash, is given in tickets with which she can get anything she likes at the grocery.

Q. (Commissioner Burr) What rent did she pay out of that? A. (Miss Dissosway) Six dollars toward the rent; we pay five.

Q. Have you a budget for this family? A. (Miss Dissosway) One dollar and thirty cents a week for the rent,

\$8.25 for the food, which allows \$1.25 for five in the family and \$1 each for the two younger children, \$1.20 for fuel, 40 cents for light and 60 cents for carfare. The 60 cents carfare is now that the girl is going to work.

Q. How much does that make? A. (Miss Dissosway) Eleven dollars and seventy-five cents a week.

Q. How much did she have? A. (Miss Dissosway) She has an income of \$13.50; there is a margin amounting to \$1.74.

Q. In this family you have, as a matter of fact, allowed nothing for shoes and clothing, nothing for recreation, nothing for medicine or medical attendance, nothing specifically provided in your budget? There is how much left? A. (Miss Dissosway) One dollar and seventy-five cents.

Q. That might be distributed among those items? A. (Miss Dissosway) I think that I have stated to the Committee yesterday that we supply whatever medical attendance is necessary. Money is not the only consideration; we find that we give very much better medical attendance than they could get for themselves.

Q. (the Chairman) Prior to two weeks ago when you gave her the \$5 what was her income? A. (Miss Dissosway) Seven dollars, because the girl was not working.

### **The Charity Organization Society of the City of New York**

In accordance with the plan hereinbefore set forth the Committee held meetings with the representatives of The Charity Organization Society of the city of New York on October 30 and 31, and November 6, 13, 14 and 21, 1913. As in the case of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, the Committee examined mainly the records of the districts of the Society in which Mr. W. Frank Persons, the director of general work of the Society, stated that representative work was being done.

At the meetings of October 30 and 31, the cases of widows dealt with in the Clinton district of the Society were considered. At these hearings the Society was represented by Mr. W. Frank Persons, director of general work, Mrs. John M. Glenn, chairman of the district committee, and Miss Elizabeth Wood, the district secretary. The records of widowed mothers dealt with by this Committee since January 1, 1912, synopses of which had been made by an examiner for the Committee, were given consideration.

What the Committee has already said in this report with relation to the poor quality of the work for the individual families of widowed mothers carried on by the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, must here be repeated and emphasized with relation to The Charity Organization Society of the City of New York. The records and the testimony quoted show clearly the inadequacy of this form of work as carried on by both the Bureau and the Society in question. Yet these two organizations have been the most strenuous in their opposition to the granting of governmental aid to such widowed mothers. Apparently without any knowledge of the true facts as herein set forth, leading representatives of these two societies have testified that they believed that adequate relief was provided to the families of widowed mothers through their instrumentality. While no one can question the good intentions of these representatives of the organizations named, it is to be deplored that they should base their opposition to the granting of governmental aid to widowed mothers, in part at least upon the mistaken theory that their organizations were doing all that was necessary for the relief of such mothers.

Previous to the consideration of the work done for widowed

mothers in this district of the Society the following statements were made and form part of the record:

Q. Now we are going to examine some of the records of the Society and I would be glad to have you name, if you will, Mr. Persons, the districts of the Society in which you think particularly good work is being done for widowed mothers? A. (Mr. Persons) Well, I should certainly name the Clinton district.

#### SYNOPSIS

The following case records were then considered:

Widow (43-C). Four children; two of them in an orphan asylum and two aged six and two years at home. Family known to the Society since November, 1913; it was closed in April following, the family having moved to Brooklyn. The father died in 1910 of tuberculosis. The mother with the two younger children was living at her sister's. Both women went out to work every day and left the two children in the nursery. The mother wished aid to get her furniture out of storage so that she might start in rooms of her own; she also asked aid in groceries when the cold weather set in. The record also states that the family had formerly lived in Brooklyn and had been known to the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities after man's death, but woman said they gave her so little help she couldn't bother with them. As the result of inquiries made of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities the Clinton District Committee learned that the family had been known to the Bureau off and on since September, 1910. The man was at that time in the hospital and the woman was referred to church society for relief. The two older children were placed in an institution and woman was working in a paint factory at five dollars a week; therefore the case was closed. By a sister of the woman's the Committee was informed that she had spent all her savings, as a domestic, on man's funeral, and had clothed woman and her children since and had purchased medicine for her for nearly a year. She said that her sister went out of her mind with worry and poor food after her husband's death and was quite unable to work. She said she would continue to buy clothing for her sister but did not think she should be asked to

do any more. The sister with whom woman was living stated that the care of the family had been a great tax on the three sisters. She was, however, willing to keep her sister through the winter and said they did not need any charitable assistance. Her sister was doing washing and cleaning at \$1.50 a day and she did sewing in private families, earning about \$9 a week. She said if the Society would help in the spring when her sister went into rooms of her own, she would be very grateful. The visitor, however, urged her to insist on woman's saving money to start up rooms for herself. Case closed May 12, 1913.

#### TESTIMONY

Q. Do you know about that case? A. (Miss Wood) I am not familiar with any except the current cases.

Q. Do you know about it, Mrs. Glenn? A. (Mrs. Glenn) I do not remember the case well enough to discuss it at all. I might say that as chairman I discuss a great many of these cases, but I cannot remember about the facts in the individual cases.

Q. Who could tell about that? A. (Mrs. Glenn) Unfortunately the Secretary who had that case is no longer connected with the Society.

Q. But I should think you ought to be able to get from the record the details of the treatment in this case. What rule was applied in that case, that it was not worth while to help her to re-establish the home? A. (Mrs. Glenn) My inference would be, though I am absolutely unwilling to discuss this synopsis of the case, that she was not in a physical shape to determine just what was going to be the best thing; it was thought that if the children had been placed in an institution it was better to find out just what her own physical and mental condition was going to be. It states there she was in bad mental shape.

Q. She was obliged to go out to work all the time? A. (Mrs. Glenn) I think she needed very careful supervision of a doctor to find out.

Q. Anything done to secure that? A. (Mrs. Glenn) I cannot answer that question.

Q. Miss Packard, you made that synopsis, didn't you?

A. (Miss Packard) Yes.

Q. Did you find any evidence of that. A. (Miss Packard) No. A. (Mrs. Glenn) I should say that on its face that synopsis shows very inadequate work and I do not feel in a position to discuss them; I am not able to criticize them.

Q. There seems to be a case in which two societies dealt with the case and I fail to see where there is any improvement in the woman's condition as the result of that treatment. In fact I fail to see any evidence of any plan by either society looking towards the improvement of the woman's condition. A. (Mrs. Glenn) I think you are perfectly right.

At the meetings of November 6, 13, 14 and 21, the records of widowed mothers dealt with in the Chelsea District of the Society were considered. At these hearings the Society was represented by Mr. W. Frank Persons, Director of General Work; Mr. Frank J. Bruno, and Miss Caroline Goodyear, the District Secretary.

For some reason not fully disclosed, Mr. Persons made strenuous objection to the consideration of the records of this district, although the District Secretary was an officer with long experience in the work. It was Mr. Persons' evident opinion that the work carried on in this district was not truly representative of the Society's work in behalf of widowed mothers. It was, however, explained to Mr. Persons that the Committee was desirous of knowing about the work of the Society for widowed mothers generally and not alone about that carried on in the districts in which he believed the most representative work was being done.

The following case records were thereupon considered:

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (53-C). Six children, the oldest twelve years of age. Father died March 14, 1912, with tuberculosis. Relatives have aided some but are able to do very little. Woman does cleaning for other tenants and earns two or three dollars a week in that



way. The Society is aiding by paying the balance of the rent which she does not earn by her own services. This amounts to five dollars a month; it also gives two dollars a week in cash and aids with clothing as the visitor finds necessary. The church has also been giving two dollars a week. She also has a woman lodger who pays her two dollars a week. The Widows' Society has been asked to aid but no reply has been received from them.

#### TESTIMONY

Q. What is the income of the family as you make it, Miss Goodyear? A. (Miss Goodyear) I think about \$14 regularly.

Q. How do you make that out? A. (Miss Goodyear) Counting the rent?

Q. No, the income. A. (Miss Goodyear) Income,—the mother earns by janitor service about \$3 a week.

Q. Well, suppose we leave that out, because you pay the rent as I take it. A. (Miss Goodyear) Leave out the rent entirely. Then we leave out also \$5 we pay towards the rent?

Q. Yes. A. (Miss Goodyear) She earns \$2 to \$3 a week, let us call that \$2.50; has a girl lodger at present paying \$2.50.

Q. Church gives? A. (Miss Goodyear) Two dollars. We are giving \$2 in cash, and about \$2 or \$3 is contributed by tenants and friends in the house, in the neighborhood.

Q. Is that regularly contributed? A. (Miss Goodyear) Not regularly.

Q. Well, do you know just how much is contributed each week? A. (Miss Goodyear) No definite regular amount is contributed each week, but it was taken into consideration about how much it amounted to at the time the deal was made.

Q. Then I would say this has been \$7 for food, \$3 for clothing and \$1 for fuel and light; that makes \$11. Now the amount that seems to be regularly provided is \$9, leaving her as you say, to get \$2 in a more or less uncertain way from the neighbors. Do you think that is a desirable thing? A. (Miss Goodyear) It doesn't seem bad.

Q. Do you think that is a desirable thing? A. (Miss Goodyear) It does not seem to be objectionable; the help that is given is voluntary and in a friendly way; it is not left for her to ask assistance in that way, but she—the owner of the house takes an interest in her and helps her occasionally with material that she makes up into clothing for the children; and the young married couple who have just come into the house took a special interest in her; and I think it was they who interested the restaurant people in the neighborhood to supply her with soup and so on that was left over; and these young people themselves help her some, and other tenants in the house help her from time to time as she does work for them in the natural ways.

Q. But it is uncertain, that is to say you don't know that Mrs. B., for example, gives fifty cents a week and Mrs. C. gives seventy-five or — A. (Miss Goodyear) No.

Q. In any week? A. (Miss Goodyear) Have done it.

Q. It simply happened that they helped her to a certain extent, which you estimated to be about \$2 a week; that is it? A. (Miss Goodyear) Yes.

Q. Well, do you think that is a desirable method of relieving the need of a woman who certainly does require a regular income, with help certain and definite, in order that she may take care of this large family consisting of herself and six young children? A. (Miss Goodyear) I don't know of any objection to it when it comes in that friendly, voluntary way, just as I say.

Q. Yes, but isn't the uncertainty an objection? You cannot say that she draws a certain definite amount from the neighbors, but you estimate that she gets about that much from them. A. (Miss Goodyear) Neither is it a certain thing that she requires so much for clothing, food and different items every week; it is called for more as she needs it than as a regular thing.

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (103-C). Four children, the oldest girl of 12, at home, and a boy of 9 with mother's parents in Ireland. The father died

in January, 1912. He was insured for \$787.60. Woman paid undertaker \$195 for man's funeral and balance due for burying a child who had died before; she also had to pay \$140 which she had borrowed during man's illness. From the time the man died until the youngest child was born, in August, 1912, woman did not work. Since May 1, 1912, has had a lodger paying \$2 a week, but before that had to pay the rent of \$15 for three months without any assistance and sent \$4 a month to pay for child in Ireland. For about a year mother has been doing day's work, averaging \$3 or \$4 a week. In May, 1913, when the Society's visitor called, the mother said she would work her fingernails off before she would part with her children. Hoped that her strength would hold out until the oldest girl was able to work. She also said that nursing the baby had been a great drain upon her strength, so that she was not able to earn more than \$3 a week for some time. In September, 1913, nurse reported that mother had been on the verge of a breakdown, but that she was improving, and nurse thought with care she would be all right. Baby is now weaned and able to walk alone. At last report mother was doing three washings, but no ironings, each week, and, with her own work, was kept busy all the time, although she did not seem to feel that she was doing too much. The youngest child's god-mother had provided clothing for him and for the girl of 12, and the church has aided occasionally with shoes. The Charity Organization Society has sent two quarts of milk a day and has paid four months' rent. The Society has been watching her health carefully because she seemed to have a tendency to tuberculosis; at least, she is not very robust.

#### TESTIMONY

Q. What do you make the total income of that family, leaving out the rent, which you have been paying I see? A. (Miss Goodyear) \$7.50 I think, that is taking into account what the church gives, I think it is.

Q. Receipts? A. (Miss Goodyear) She earns about \$4.50, she averages as much as that.

Q. Did you count that up? A. (Miss Goodyear) The lodger \$2, the milk, which amounts to \$1.25 a week — about

\$5 a month. I have not made any cash estimate of the help given by the godmother.

Q. Well, about how much do you think the church gives?

A. (Miss Goodyear) I think nothing regularly as yet. In fact, I think they are giving nothing so far as I know.

Q. What is your budget for this family of five persons?

A. (Miss Goodyear) \$5 a week, I think, for food and clothing.

Q. How much for clothing and shoes? A. (Miss Goodyear) Clothing includes shoes.

Q. And how much do you make it? A. (Miss Goodyear) I should say \$2.

Q. Now, how much for fuel and light? A. (Miss Goodyear) \$1 to \$1.25.

Q. How much for incidentals, recreation, medicines? A. (Miss Goodyear) I never make any allowance for recreation and medical attendance in the budget; we always say, in the first place, the recreation, the fresh air opportunities, are to be had free as a rule, and the medicines are always treated to be met with as it arises.

Q. Now, the budget according to this is about \$8.25 a week and the income \$7.72. Then I notice that she has sent money over to Ireland. A. (Miss Goodyear) She has managed to do that only once, I think, since the first of May.

Q. So that leaving out the items, some of the items which are ordinarily included in the family budget, her income is \$7.72 and her budget \$8.25 a week. A. (Miss Goodyear) Yes, of course, it is not ever necessary that the income in any one week should be quite up to the estimated budget for the year. I think the reason that this falls below is because we are giving the relief rather cautiously, and not having full confidence in the woman herself. We are watching the case rather carefully.

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (104-C). Nine children, the oldest, a son of 19, is supposed to have tuberculosis, but earns \$10 a week. The next is a girl of 15; then follow seven children from 13 down to 1 year and 10 months of age. A tenth child, next to the oldest, went away some time ago and his present location is not known. Woman was

married twice; she had two children by the first marriage and the remaining children by the second marriage. Her second husband died February 16, 1913, of cancer. The Society had family for a short time in 1907, and took it up again in May, 1913. Since then the Society has been giving four quarts of milk a day; it also paid the rent for June and August and woman borrowed money for July rent from a friend. In August the church began giving an allowance of \$3 a week. The Society paid for glasses for one child and also paid \$2 to have oldest girl examined by a physician and provided an atomizer at a cost of 65 cents for her. The visitor stated it was obvious that the mother could not do any thing to supplement the family income although she did some work during the summer. A clergyman who was interested said that a friend of his had offered to pay for a business course for the oldest girl, but she must graduate from school, which she will not do until June, 1914, and the business course would probably take six months. He was unable to suggest any plan whereby the family income might be supplemented to amount of girl's earnings if she continued in school. Case was considered by the committee on October 17th, and it was decided that assistance should be continued on condition that girl went to work. On October 31st, letter was received from girl's mother saying she had decided to let girl continue in school. The milk was then discontinued. It seems to have been the opinion of the District Secretary, Miss Goodyear, that the girl was not very bright at school; she was almost sixteen and had not yet graduated from the grammar school.

#### TESTIMONY

Q. (Commissioner Loeb) I should like to ask if the milk was withdrawn because the mother refused to take the girl out of school? A. (Miss Goodyear) The girl had been working in the summer.

Q. (Commissioner Loeb) I understood Mr. Hebbard to read from the report that when the mother was saying that she was going to put the girl in school that the milk was withdrawn by your Society? A. (Miss Goodyear) No—yes, yes.

Q. Well, did you then conclude that you would have noth-

ing more to do with that family, that you would not help that girl because they had disobeyed — that you did not agree with them as to what was advisable for her to do? A. (Miss Goodyear) No; we did not close the case at all. I simply told the mother that she might try her own way for a time and if she found it was too difficult she knew where we were and she could come to us.

Q. Then you absolutely took the milk away from that family because they disagreed as to her needs, her schooling, you wanted to allow her to try her way? A. (Miss Goodyear) Yes.

Q. And you took the milk away for that reason? A. (Miss Goodyear) Leaving the responsibility with her.

Q. Leaving the responsibility with her, knowing that she would need that more — you knew that she would need it more if she went to school than if she worked and you took the milk away from her? A. (Miss Goodyear) Felt that she would need it more and felt that she would need her earnings in addition.

Q. You actually wanted to force that woman to send her to work and then you would be willing to help her, is that the point? A. (Miss Goodyear) Yes.

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (201-C). Four children under 7; the youngest two months old. The father died March 15, 1912, of pneumonia. The mother stated that the insurance was \$142. Of this all but \$4 went for the funeral. She was expecting confinement and the society aided with rent, groceries and milk. In July told her that she could not expect any church or charitable society to take care of her or the children until the oldest was able to earn something and that she must make some plan so that she could be self-supporting after her confinement.

The church gave \$2 a week in groceries and the society paid rent for several months. The baby was born in August. The oldest boy has been in an orphan asylum since June as he was inclined to play truant and the Charity Organization Society advised woman to take a place at service with the baby, leaving the

other two children with her sister and paying what she could for their board. She objected to this plan, being unwilling to give up her home, but was reminded that until the baby was old enough to wean she would have hardly any income, and that it would be out of the question under the circumstances to supply her needs from private charity. Later, when the baby was old enough, she could place it in a day nursery and be less helpless and then might follow a different plan.

The woman complained about this suggestion, and felt that more help should be given her. The society learned from another insurance company that they had paid her \$370.75. She hopes to get a place as janitress and plans to take in washing. Thinks that with the \$2 a week in groceries from the church, she will be able to keep her three children. She asked the society for help with her rent for October. Before learning of the additional insurance, the Committee decided to continue paying rent for a short time, and to help woman to get a place as janitress and to see if her plan was feasible.

#### TESTIMONY

With respect to this family Miss Goodyear testified in part as follows:

She is still living in three or four rooms for which the rent is \$10 a month. The rooms were comfortably furnished, and she appeared to be in as good health as possible, under the circumstances. The children also were quite well. We had a feeling about her that she did not show a proper effort to get herself on a good economic basis — that is, she was very willing to depend entirely upon charity. It seemed to us and we felt that it would be very necessary in view of the fact that the oldest child is less than eight years, and it would be at least six years before there would be any additional income, that it was a serious proposition to have to take care of such a family for so long a period. We told her that we would help her with regular relief, rent, through the period of her confinement, and until her recovery, but we told her that she must be thinking of what plan she could follow as the most practical, economical and proper for the support of her family during the next period of year. That was our advice to her.

She asked for the commitment of her oldest child on the ground that he was beyond her control.

Q. (Commissioner Wilcox) Is the oldest child a boy?

A. (Miss Goodyear) Yes, sir.

Q. (Commissioner Hard) Miss Goodyear, this was while you were paying her rent? A. (Miss Goodyear) Yes, sir.

Q. And during her confinement? A. (Miss Goodyear) Yes, she came to us in April.

Q. When did she ask to have that child committed? A. (Miss Goodyear) I am not clear about that, but I believe it was some time in July. The church allowed her \$2 a week and her sister helped her to some extent. However, we found that she made no effort that we could see, even after her recovery, to help herself, and even six weeks after her confinement she had not made any definite effort toward securing any kind of employment and still seemed willing to lean entirely on the pension we were giving her. She has a sister living in the Bronx who helped her to some extent, but we always had the feeling that the family were adequately supplied and showed no evidence of destitution.

Q. (Commissioner Wilcox) You were giving her ten dollars a month for rent? A. (Miss Goodyear) Yes, sir, we were giving her ten dollars a month, and milk for her youngest child. In our advice to her it was tentative; it was in the nature of offering her something to vary from, or rather to start her thinking. We advised her that she leave the oldest child in the home, and that she ask her sister to take care of the next two, and that she herself place her services with the baby, paying her sister what she could afford for the support of the other two children. She said she would not do that. She was nursing her baby at that time. This plan was tentative and was formed partly with the idea that she might keep her baby until she could wean it. After the baby was old enough to place in a day nursery, and she could place the other children in a day nursery and take employment, we told her that a pension might be supplied to supplement her income. Later on, we learned that besides the insurance she admitted to us, she had another insurance



policy, amounting to \$370, that she had not told us of at all. That of course accounted for her lack of energy, and also accounted for our feeling of lack of confidence in the situation.

Q. (the Chairman) What was the final action on your part? A. (Miss Goodyear) The case is not closed. I think no direct action has been taken.

Q. (the Chairman) Miss Goodyear, of this \$370 that she had, do you know what part of it was used to supplement enough money to pay for the keeping of the family besides what was given by the Church? A. (Miss Goodyear) I do not.

Q. Did you know that she had all this money, or did you know just that there was a policy for that amount which she did not have? You don't know how much she had left? A. (Miss Goodyear) No, I do not.

Q. Do you know how much she had left after the insurance company stated it was paid? A. (Miss Goodyear) No.

Q. (the Chairman) Miss Goodyear, you did not investigate at all, how much of that money the woman really had, except that you knew that the insurance people had given her that money? A. (Miss Goodyear) No.

On December 11, 1913, the Commission considered the cases of widow's dealt with in the Kip's Bay District of the Society. At these hearings the Society was represented by Mr. W. Frank Persons, Director of General Work, Mr. Frank J. Bruno, in charge of case work, Miss Frances E. Hubbell, District Secretary.

The following case records were then examined:

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (703-C). Two children, boy 7, girl 6. Father died in 1910, February 17th.

Mother had miscarriage in April, 1910, which was due to work on a heavy machine in a brass factory. Mother works in Rockefeller Institute as scrubwoman, \$25 a month. Works every day from 8 A. M. to 5 P. M. Leaves girl in day nursery and boy goes to Public School. When he comes home from school he joins sister at day nursery. On holidays, when the day nursery is closed,

the woman has to lock children in the rooms. One day, children were playing with matches and set house on fire. Since then mother is very nervous about leaving them alone. Since the nursery was closed in the month of August, mother asked that children be sent to the country. Children spent their vacation on a farm in Freehold, N. J., and the society paid expenses. Later girl became sick and during the period of her illness, about six weeks, the woman was given regular relief to the amount of \$2.50 a week. Woman's mother was helping, as she had done from the beginning.

## TESTIMONY

Q. "This \$2.50 was intended to take the place of her wages? A. (Miss Hubbell) No, not to take the place of the wages, but because one child was at home with a small illness, and that was what was paid.

Q. What other income had she? A. (Miss Hubbell) The mother was helping with the rent and nursery was giving food for one child.

Q. How much income did the woman have at this time when she had the sick child to take care of? A. (Miss Hubbell) She had the church helping to extent of \$1.50, all through the year.

Q. Was the rent paid? A. (Miss Hubbell) There was never any question of her wanting the rent. She would have asked us if she wanted the rent.

Q. But it would make a difference, whether someone was paying it or if she was paying it out of her income? A. (Miss Hubbell) Yes, a very decided difference, but I do not think there was any question of her paying it.

Q. Ought you not to know about these things in order to adjust them? A. (Miss Hubbell) I was not there and I had nothing to do with the case at the time. Perhaps I would be able to give better information if I had.

Q. Is that a good reason? It still leaves us in very much doubt, thinking about an important matter like this does not bring us anywhere.

Q. (The Chairman) Was that woman subjected to go out to work, being in the family way, and had to work on a heavy

machine and had a miscarriage owing to the fact that it was brought about by heavy work; is that or isn't it true? A. (Miss Hubbell) Well, she was not forced to go out to work through any action of ours. She was working when the case came up.

Q. She was forced to go out to get bread, wasn't she? A. (Miss Hubbell) Well, it was no concern of ours.

Q. It was not? A. We were not responsible for her going to work in the brass factory.

Q. (The Chairman) But she was under your supervision, because the case was opened on the 29th of March, 1910. She had a miscarriage in April? A. (Miss Hubbell) The woman was not in my district and the agent of the other district may not have known what the woman was doing.

Q. (The Chairman) Wasn't it her business to know? A. Well, not if the woman is away, she may have made no complaint at all.

Q. (The Chairman) What has that got to do with it? If a case is opened by your society, you are supposed to be a humane society, and any woman whose husband has died who comes to you for assistance, and who is in the family way, it seems to me it is the province of the society to see that this woman should not be allowed to work in a brass factory on a machine? A. (Mr. Persons) It might not have been known to the district secretary that the woman was pregnant and it may not have been known what the nature of the employment was, and it may have been quite proper that that should not have been known.

Q. (The Chairman) Isn't it presupposed though that the nurse or the investigator going in would know, if she was a good investigator, a humane one. A. (Mr. Persons) I think they would know. A. (Miss Hubbell) The woman wrote me and asked if any arrangement could be made for the care of the children, as the nursery was closed during August. I arranged for these children to be sent to the country for the month of August. We paid their board, and provided them with clothing. We did whatever was necessary to keep them away until the nursery was again open.

The mother wrote letter in December stating she was not in sympathy with our relief to her and would prefer that we make fewer visits. We did not come when she needed help, as she thought. Case closed.

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (704-C) Two girls, 3 and 1. Father died of complication of diseases in May, 1912.

Father left \$210 insurance, but as he was sick for two months before his death, the money went for doctors' bills and undertaker. When father died, mother was pregnant. She boarded a baby from the New York Foundling Asylum, for which she received \$10 a month. September, 1912, case closed, in care of relatives who are helping widow pregnant with her second child, who was living in a \$17 apartment and on being advised to reduce expenses and give up keeping lodgers, moved to a \$20 apartment. A sister with whom she had quarreled is now living with her again and sharing her rent. An aunt helps, sister pays board and woman does a little washing. Case closed September, 1912, by the Riverside District. On October 24, 1913, it was re-opened by Kips Bay District. On that day investigation was made and visitor was impressed by the fact that mother was not very anxious to keep her children. Woman remarked several times that if the Society had only helped her at time of husband's death, she would not have been in this plight now. Mother lived with her sister but at last visit, November 11, 1913, mother had gone to make her home with her father.

#### TESTIMONY

Q. Anything else you would like to say about this case?

A. (Miss Hubbell) Only that Mr. Bauer did not approve of the commitment of these children. He thought that the family were able to provide for those children, and refused commitment.

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (706-C) Four children; girl 14, 12, boy 11 and 8. Family occupy five rooms, \$15 a month. Father died November, 1906.

In May, 1907, woman applied to Union Settlement which referred case to C. O. S. Was under care of Riverside District up to March, 1909, when case was transferred to Kipp's Bay District, family having moved. During this period pension of \$2 was given by C. O. S. for ten weeks, besides aid in milk and eggs, glasses for woman, living expenses, etc., to the amount of \$55.97. Mother and children were living with her parents, and brother and sister. Father was very nearly blind and had been unable to earn anything for twenty years. Received blind pension of \$45 a year. Woman did day's work. Was thought for a time to have tuberculosis. Attend clinic and in October, 1907, doctor reported her free from tuberculosis. Five dollars a week was paid for some time by benevolent society to which sister belonged, and St. V. de Paul Society aided occasionally. Woman's brother worked as driver at Wanamaker's at \$15 a week and paid rent for family. Children were delicate and oldest girl was in hospital for over two months in summer of 1907 with scarlet fever, and later, paralysis of stomach. In November, 1907, nurse reported that two of children had been examined and their lungs found to be affected. In January, 1908, woman was doing about three days' work a week and attending clinic regularly. Doctors thought she had not tuberculosis, but that her heart required attention. In February, 1908, appeal was made for family, stating that woman had heart trouble and was run down from over-work and worry, that she was doing all in her power to support her family, but was not able to provide sufficient nourishment for herself and four growing children. Seventy dollars was asked for to provide weekly pension during the coming year. In winter of 1908 to 1909 woman's brother was out of work. In February, 1909, got his job back at \$9 a week, temporarily, but in March was in hospital with abscess. In February woman's married brother had aided family to move and March 19th case was transferred to Kipp's Bay district. Women secured work as shade operator at \$8 a week and brother again secured work at Wanamaker's. St. Bartholomew's clinic gave milk and eggs for woman's sister. As family refused to accept advice or direction, case closed June 28, 1909.

April 4, 1913, Mr. Bauer asked for investigation of family.

C. O. S. visitor called and found woman very ill with tuberculosis and about to enter Bellevue Hospital. Said doctor had told her that her condition was due to overwork and malnutrition. She had two rooms at this time at 28th street at \$9 a month, and worked at 104th street, where she sometimes walked the whole distance to save car fare. Had received dispossess notice but had gotten it extended for one week more. Said that church visitor had insisted that children must be put in a home and had quite upset her by her attitude. Woman had a horror of hospital, but felt that was only course open to her. Neighbor was taking care of her while affairs were being settled. C. O. S. visitor left address of office so that woman could communicate with her if there was anything she could do. April 13th it was found woman had moved. Neighbor said she had gone to hospital and left children with her mother. Visitor tried to locate woman's mother, but did not succeed in doing so. At one address there were children in the room, but they would not answer knock. Letter was written to Bellevue Hospital and reply received stating that woman was not there, but they thought woman's dispensary card was from N. Y. University and Bellevue Hospital Medical College Dispensary and not from Bellevue Hospital Dispensary. Case closed April 28, 1913.

#### TESTIMONY

Q. What relation do you think supporting herself and these children all these years had to the tuberculosis situation? A. (Miss Hubbell) It is doubtful to say. The woman was asked to take rooms by herself with her children when she would not have had to furnish the full support. We had a plan, or they had in the other district, for giving her a regular pension.

Q. And because she refused to leave her father and mother you would not help? A. (Miss Hubbell) No, that was not quite the situation. There was no need to send relief into a home of adult members where we disapprove of the woman remaining with her children. We did not want to encourage that woman to remain with her children in that home, because the sister was there and tubercular, and she refused to leave. We did not feel it was a proper environment for children going out.

## SYNOPSIS

Widow. (801-C) Three children; boy 19, 15 and 13. Father died December, 1907. Family occupy four rooms, \$20 month rent.

This family was under care of Riverside District from August 17, 1911, to October 31, 1911. Woman had been employed as caretaker at \$25 a month and had the offer of a position as domestic at good wages, mother stated, if she could place the two younger boys and board the oldest. Mother stated she would not do this if she could give the necessary time to her home to keep the boys out of mischief. In April, 1911, the two younger boys had been arrested with another boy for robbing a store, selling the goods and spending proceeds in moving picture shows. The two boys, after spending night in S. P. C. C. rooms had been discharged in Children's Court, it being their first offense and general record good. Big Brothers became interested in boys and placed them on their farm at Stockton, N. J. In November, 1913, Big Brother Movement asked that Society interest itself in family and case was reopened. Mother then living in Kipp's Bay District. The Big Brothers felt it was most important for the two boys to be with their mother at this point in their development and wanted Society to consider question of aiding mother until the boys were able to work. Oldest son was earning \$10 a month, but this was family's sole source of income, as mother was suffering from Bright's disease and had worked beyond her strength. The visitor called and stated that mother seemed very much upset at thought of having to receive charity. Mother said that she had expected 15-year old boy to go to work as soon as he came home. With this idea in mind they had taken this apartment of four rooms at \$20 month rent and then had found that boy had not gone far enough in school to obtain working papers. Youngest boy had been sent regularly to school in Stockton, but 15-year old boy worked on farm and had had no schooling for the past year. Mother told visitor that for three years after husband's death she had managed to keep her home, but that she had worked herself out. C. O. S. reported case to Child Labor Committee who expressed a willingness to arrange for pension of \$2 week, if after visitation this was considered advisable. Kipp's

Bay District Committee approved of sum of \$12 a month for next four months, to be expended for rent, and visitor told mother that she could count on \$20 a month probably until March. Big Brothers are to furnish tutor for boys to help them prepare to secure their working papers.

TESTIMONY

Q. Let us get the budget clearly in the record. A. (Miss Hubbell) The amount is \$15.

Q. (Mrs. Einstein) For a family of four? A. (Miss Hubbell) Yes.

Q. (Mr. Bruno) What was the income? A. (Miss Hubbell) The boy was earning \$10 a week and the woman was being allowed \$20 a month through our Society and the Child Labor Committee.

Q. (Mrs. Einstein) No allowance for clothes? A. (Miss Hubbell) \$2.50 a week for miscellanies.

Q. (Mr. Bruno) Is that \$4 a week for four ample? A. (Miss Hubbell) Yes.



**The New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor**

The Committee on January 16, 1914, considered the records of nineteen families of widowed mothers assisted since January 1, 1912, by the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. The Association was represented at the hearings by Mr. John A. Kingsbury, the General Agent; Mr. William P. Capes, Assistant; Mr. William H. Mathews, Director; Mrs. Helene Ingram, Superintendent of Relief; Miss Halle D. Woods, Assistant; Miss Alice C. Mayer and Miss Agnes Anderson, Supervisors; also by Mrs. Laura E. Arnold, visitor.

The work carried on by this organization in its attempt to relieve the needs of the widowed mother appears to be better organized and the relief given to such widows more adequate than that of any of the other private relief organizations in this State. The records of the families dealt with, as hereinafter set forth, seem to show this to be the case. At the same time, the representatives of the Association stated very emphatically that its means were entirely inadequate to meet the needs of the situation. Regular and systematic relief, adequate in amount, could be given to but a small percentage of the widowed mothers whom the Association sought to relieve.

The facts and the testimony given with respect to some of these families are as follows:

**SYNOPSIS**

Widow (1801-A) Three children, boys, 14, 11 and 9. Father died in 1909 from pneumonia. Sister living with family paying \$5 a week board. Family occupy three rooms paying \$13 a month.

May 19, 1913, case referred to Association by Department of Education as Howard needed glasses. Mother did sewing when she could get it. At that time had very little work and was unable to pay for glasses for boy. The Association's visitor gave woman card to office for order for glasses. Later it was learned that woman's brother would pay for glasses. No aid needed. Case referred for closing May 26, 1913.

## TESTIMONY

Q. Nothing known about the income? A. (Miss Packard) Well, the rent was given.

Q. Do you want to say anything about that case? A. (Mrs. Arnold) No, except to say that it was referred by the school, and they were very much surprised to find that they had been referred to the Association for assistance and when the sister came to the office to say that her brother would pay for the glasses, she said that no assistance was needed, and they wanted no investigation.

## SYNOPSIS

Widow (1802-A). Two children, girls, 7 and 5. Father died in 1911 from tuberculosis. Family occupy 5 rooms at \$17 a month rent and have two lodgers, man and his son, who pay \$8 a week.

April 22, 1912, case referred to Association by telephone message from neighbor asking assistance for woman who had rented an apartment of four rooms at \$19, with another woman who paid \$5 a week as her share, but had left three weeks before this date without any assistance. Woman had been working as assistant matron at a day nursery, receiving \$6.50 a week, her mother living with her and caring for the house and children. Woman's sister, however, had lost her husband two weeks previously and the mother had to go and help her with her six children, so woman had been left with no way of caring for her home, boarders or her own two children. Was in need of food, which Association furnished and was also in arrears with rent, landlord having threatened her with a dispossession. Woman found 4 rooms at \$13 a month and the Association aided her with moving expenses. Another sister of woman was visited and stated that while she could not aid family if woman secured outside work she would care for the house and the children for her. On closing visit woman stated she was getting along nicely. She had a piano which she had sold for \$100 which would enable her to live until her mother came back to live with her when she would return to work. The Association aided this family with food to the amount of \$10. May 12th woman had moved to 5 rooms at \$17 a month. Case closed August 12, 1913.

## TESTIMONY

Q. You think this woman could get along without aid, under the circumstances? A. (Miss Alling) She seemed to think that she could herself, we took her own word for it. We gave her the aid that she asked for.

Q. You had no plan for her for the future? A. (Miss Alling) No, she seemed to have made her own plans and wished to stick by them.

Q. If you really feel that a woman requires further assistance, even though she does not ask for it, don't you grant it? A. (Miss Alling) Yes, certainly, we do if permitted. Some people do not care to have charity forced upon them.

## SYNOPSIS

Widow (1803-A). Three children, boys, 7, 5 and 4. Father died in December, 1911, from diabetes. Family occupy 3 rooms paying \$12 a month. Woman's sister-in-law and child living with family. Mother employed as saleswoman earning \$7 a week.

December 2, 1912: Letter received from woman stating that it seemed impossible for her to live and support 3 children on \$7 a week and asking help. Visitor called and reported that woman was a slight, delicate looking little woman, but seemed brave and was most anxious to keep her children. Her mother-in-law was living with her and taking care of the children, while she worked in a department store. Three weeks before, the children had had pneumonia and woman had lost a week from her work during their illness. Visitor called on woman's father, who said that he had paid her rent regularly for a year after her husband's death but was now ill with rheumatism and unable to work. Said he had had to tell his daughter sometime ago that he could do nothing more for her. Wanted her to commit the children, but she was unwilling to do so. The Association aided with food to amount of about \$2 a week and with clothing occasionally. January 28, 1913: Woman had been laid off from store as business was very slack. February 2d: The Association's visitor gave ticket to diet kitchen for milk for one of the boys as he was not very well, having had chicken pox and ear trouble after it. March 3d woman had secured position in an-

other department store at \$6 a week. Milk had been continued since February 2d. Grocery orders were given amounting to about \$2 a week from December 2, 1912, up to November 6, 1913, when weekly allowance of \$3 was started. Family had been sent to Sea Breeze for two weeks in summer during woman's vacation. September 4th woman's sister-in-law was living with family, mother-in-law having had to leave to go to another daughter. Sister-in-law remained at home to look after children and did a little home work, receiving 3 cents a dozen from factory for running ribbons through corset covers. This Mrs. B. is also an Association case. October 20th stated to visitor that she and her husband had lived with family for two and a half years, her husband taking the place of father to the children. Mrs. B. has one baby of her own, born November 20, 1912. Husband is now in Auburn Prison for stealing when out of work. October 10, 1913, Mrs. B. was again receiving \$7 a week in department store. Besides the \$3 allowance started November 6th, Association has continued giving one quart of milk a day. In December, 1913, also gave \$6 towards rent and \$14 in new garments. January 12th, gave groceries to amount of \$2.23 and next day \$1 for meat, in place of regular \$3 weekly allowance.

#### TESTIMONY

Q. (the Chairman) I don't see how they get along on that allowance. A. (Miss Alling) She makes besides about \$30; between \$25 and \$30 a month.

Q. (the Chairman) Her salary?

Mr. Hebbard: Well, she must make something or she would have been dead long ago.

A. (Miss Alling) That, of course, is shown on the record.

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (1805-A). Three children, 13, 11 and 10. Father died March, 1912, a suicide. Family occupy 4 rooms, paying \$21 rent. Keep several girl lodgers.

March 13, 1912, case referred by card from Mr. T. of Yale Club enclosing newspaper clipping telling of man's suicide and of financial straits of family. Upon first call of Association's

visitor woman did not wish to be interviewed and upon learning object of visit, stated that they were not exactly poor and did not need help. At second call woman stated that they had a prosperous business (employment agency) for 5 years but that during the last three years man drank to excess, also kept company of low women. He had squandered money and family were left without any means. She had had him arrested and disgrace of this and loss of money had caused suicide. Friends had helped woman out by paying rent and she had several girls who were out of employment staying with her. Woman planned to rent room from a friend and go out to day's work. Intended to give up apartment as soon as month was up. She did not care to accept any relief if she could get along without it and would call at office if occasion demanded. Case held several weeks but nothing further developed. Woman evidently managing through own resources. Closed August 25, 1913.

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (1808-A). Four children, girls 8, 6, 2; latter died May, 1913; boy, 1. Woman's brother lives with family. Family occupies 3 rooms, paying \$9 a month. Man died March, 1913; accident.

Case referred by card from milk station for 2 quarts of milk daily. Woman expecting confinement. Two girls reported to be in poor health. Man had no insurance. Woman's brother had charge of her affairs and was going to try to bring about a settlement with company. Owing to woman's condition association gave aid pending investigation. Woman's brother paid rent and sister-in-law in house adjoining was assisting. The association also sent nurse. During nurse's visit children had measles and apparently made normal recovery. Two-year-old girl later developed pneumonia, treated by a private doctor, and nurse from settlement. Was also under observation of the milk station. Died May 14, 1913. July 7th when nurse called woman was at work sewing. Stated she was well. Baby born August 13, 1913. The association aided with food to extent of \$7.68 from time case was first referred to October 15, 1913. September 16th woman stated that two months before she had

received \$2,000 damages for her husband's accidental death. Baby was in very fine condition. September 27th nurse called. As usual, house was very neat and clean and woman busy at work. As woman would not go to Caroline Rest, case was left with visitor. October 15, 1913, as woman stated she had received \$2,000 death claim, no further attention will be given. Very clean, self-respecting family. Case closed November 24, 1913.

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (1809-A). Four children, boy 20, plumber's helper, earning \$6 a week, a girl of 14, and boys 13 and 10. Father died October, 1913, from heart trouble. Family occupy 3 rooms, \$11 rent.

Society paid funeral expenses and gave widow \$100. Woman's married daughter, also an Association case, called and asked assistance for her mother. Father had been a member of a Society and had received during his 18 months of illness, \$1 a day. Since his death woman had been living on the \$100 from the Society. One daughter who had been married 5 months before had, prior to her marriage, assisted her mother financially. Since her marriage she had been unable to do anything for the family. The 20-year old boy was the only support of the family at time application was made. Girl had been discharged from public school owing to sore eyes. Was under the care of the Eye and Ear Infirmary. Daughter who made the application stated that it was impossible for her to assist the family as she herself had been receiving aid. Family had paid rent until September 1st. Asked general assistance.

September 2d visitor called and reported that for her age woman was old and did not appear to be able to do any kind of work. Woman said her eyesight was failing, no particular trouble though. Her limbs swelled if she stood very much. Spoke hardly any English. Two youngest boys went to school and they were in need of shoes, their feet being completely out on the floor. Home was fairly clean and family seemed to be getting enough to eat, visitor reported. Same day visitor called on woman's other married daughter who said she helped her mother all she could, but was unable to do very much. Septem-

ber 5th shoes were sent, as that was what the mother wanted. October 21st visitor called again, but no one was at home. Neighbors did not seem able to tell anything about them. October 30th the case was opened for shoes only, for children who were going to school. No more visits will be made until family applies again. The girl is having the proper medical attention. Family evidently getting along. Visitor feels that they must have resources of which she could learn nothing. January 13, 1914. No further application has been made. Case closed.

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (1810-A). Four children, girl 21, married in December, 1913, not at home; earns \$10 a week, husband earns \$15 a week; boy 21, adopted nephew, in Elmira Reformatory; girl 14, boy 9. Woman has two other married daughters. Father died September, 1912, from heart trouble. Family living in 4 rooms at \$16 a month.

Case first referred to Association by East Side house. Oldest girl the main support of family was ill. Visitor called and found girl had been ill for over a week with grippe, but expected to go back to work in a day or two. She was discouraged, felt the loss of her father, and the struggle to support the family was too much for her. Both she and her mother wept nearly all the time during the interview. The adopted nephew had been in the army, but had lately been discharged so he could help support the family. Had just gone to work that day as wagon boy at \$6 per week. Three grandchildren of woman also lived with the family. Their mother was dead and their father was out of work. He had contributed to their support about enough to buy shoes and clothing for his three children, but for seven weeks he had given nothing. The married daughter feared that both she and her mother would lose their minds. Family seemed to be in need of sympathy and advice more than material aid; visitor thought mother and girl had trouble with their eyes. Visitor took them to Eye and Ear Infirmary for examination and later Association paid \$2 for glasses, which proved a great relief to both. Later nephew gave up his job and was referred to agency through which he was placed as general worker at \$7 a week.

Fee of \$2.80 paid by Association. March 7th woman stated that nephew stayed at home part of the time, was too lazy to work. She had told him he must work or leave. Grandchildren woman felt she could no longer keep with her as their father was not working and contributed nothing to their support. She asked to have them committed. Daughter was becoming ill she feared under burden of trying to support the entire family. Girl was attending dispensary and was reported anaemic. May 27th Association wrote approving commitment of three children and in June they were committed. June 19th family had moved, where they had 3 rooms at \$10 a month.

Association sent food to amount of \$5.89 during April and May and gave two pairs of shoes. Father paid woman \$3 a week for grandchildren for a short time before they were committed. Woman to work in cigar factory in fall. She and children well, oldest girl in charge of Association nurse, still earning \$10 a week and left in charge of nurse June 27, 1913.

December 22d, Yorkville District Charity Organization Society reported that woman called at East Side house and they had referred her to Yorkville District. Yorkville District thought woman only wanted something for Christmas. December 30th Association visitor called; woman said 21-year old girl had married three weeks before; had returned to her old position and was still earning \$10 a week. Her husband was a barber, earned \$9 a week and \$6 in tips. Girl refused to give woman any aid. Visitor thought there evidently had been many family quarrels as woman said none of her sons-in-law would help her now, although they were able to do so. Rent was paid to January 20th. House was warm and comfortable and there was no evidence of need, visitor reported. Settlement had promised to find work for woman who asked aid with rent. Visitor called at settlement in regard to family. They had made efforts to find work for woman who had some objection to every kind of work proposed. Church had never been asked to aid.

January 7, 1914, visitor called at home of woman's daughter, who lives in a large 5-room apartment, very comfortably furnished. Woman was not at home, but mother-in-law taking care of children. January 9, visitor called again on daughter, who



stated that she had been aiding her mother as much as possible, but had to do so without her husband's knowledge, as he and her family were not on good terms. Visitor advised that she take her mother to see pastor of church. Also advised her to apply to the Board of Health for a permit to care for children. Same day visitor called on woman who said that landlord had offered to reduce rent to \$8 in order to keep family in the house. Woman's glasses were not suitable and visitor advised her to return to hospital where they were procured and have them changed; after which sewing would be considered. Groceries sent to amount of \$2.02.

#### TESTIMONY

Q. (the Chairman) She says herself she is afraid her mother and she are going to lose their minds on account of the worry? A. (Miss Givin) We offered her very good advice.

Q. You did not offer her money? A. (Miss Givin) Yes, there was some given later on, when it was necessary.

Q. What do you intend doing for the family? A. (Miss Givin) Well, we have given her sewing, but just as soon as she got her glasses she changed I gave her sewing.

Q. What can she earn at doing that? A. (Miss Givin) Well, she can earn just about \$2 a month at our sewing.

Q. How is she going to get the rent? A. (Miss Givin) We are considering the rent, and the church is also considering it. It has been put before the Society for consideration. They promised to consider it.

Q. Meantime, what is she living on? A. (Miss Givin) I gave her groceries last week. Her daughter gives her money every day for groceries. The beginning of this week when I called again I offered her money for meat. She would not take it. She said she had all she wanted until next week. Until the plan is entirely formed, she is getting what the daughter is giving. Nephew has never returned home since that time.

Q. It says he is in Elmira? A. (Miss Givin) She heard that he was in Elmira Reformatory. He has never returned. He was only an adopted son. She said he never

amounted to anything. He never earned anything for her after he quit. He was too lazy to work.

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (1811-A). Five children, girl 8, left arm affected; boys 14, 13, 5; girl 10. Father died November, 1913, from accident. Family occupy four rooms; \$14 month rent. Woman has one lodger paying \$3 a month and man's cousin also lives with family.

Case referred to Association December 9, 1913, by letter from public school stating Lucy was in the crippled class and seemed to be in great need. December 11th visitor called. Woman claimed to have no resources whatever. Visitor reported that children's shoes were in good condition, however, and some of them had new black garments. Man had been killed while at work; case in hands of lawyer recommended by woman's brother. The girl of 14 was being treated at hospital. Visitor reported that family did not appear to be in immediate need. Visitor asked woman to have her brother call at office. December 19th letter received referring family for assistance, stating that they are in destitute circumstances. January 5th visitor called. Woman not at home. Rooms in charge of a young man, who stated he was man's cousin making his home with family. At present he was out of work; he was a bricklayer by trade. Visitor questioned the children as to why woman's brother did not call at office as requested and children replied that he was ashamed to go. Visitor left card asking woman to call at office. January 6th woman called, but did not bring addresses of brother and sister as requested. When again asked for these addresses, gave many unsatisfactory excuses. Woman not frank and open. After much argument, finally promised to have addresses ready for visitor on next call. Same date, January 6, 1914, visitor called at public school. Principal of primary department stated that she considered 14-year old boy subnormal and 13-year old boy and 10-year old girl barely normal. Had sent the children with their mother to see doctor, but the children had cried and been so rebellious that doctor had been unable to make satisfactory examination and woman said that she would never attempt to take them again. Visitor to refer matter

to nurse. The same date card was received from the principal of the school, referring family for assistance and stating that they were in desperate poverty and in desperate need of assistance. Stated that Mrs. C—— was a widow and was without employment. Stated that woman would be deeply grateful if association would help her secure some sort of work; next day visitor called and found woman at home with sister's address ready for visitor. Visitor gave woman card to see employment agent and ten cents car fare. Sent groceries to amount of \$2.22. January 8th woman called, claimed to be unable to do hard work or sewing. It will be quite difficult to place her in any capacity.

### The United Hebrew Charities

Continuing its plan, on January 16, 1914, the Committee took testimony from representatives of the United Hebrew Charities with respect to families of widowed mothers dealt with by such charities. The Society was represented by Mr. Morris D. Waldman, manager, and Mr. Hirsch, director of case work.

The facts and testimony given with respect to some of these families were as follows:

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (1901-H). Five children; girl 17 years, anaemic; 13 years; 9 years; boy, 6; girl, 4, delicate. Father died July, 1910, Family occupy three rooms, \$10 rent.

When this case came to attention of United Hebrew Charities in March, 1910, the family consisted of father, mother and five children. Father was in hospital, suffering from a grave form of anaemia. Family was given \$2 a week for living expenses by the charities. In October, 1910, living expenses were increased to \$3 weekly and \$10 was given for rent. May 10, 1911, this case was submitted to the Board of Patronesses and two women of this board consented to give \$12 per month for supplementary relief. On October 3, 1911, the charities moved family where they have four nice airy rooms with bath and hot water supply, rent \$14. November 1, 1911, family was placed on the recurrent list for \$10 per month and \$6 semi-monthly.

Through the efforts of the Charities oldest girl was given a commercial course in stenography and typewriting gratis. Until the baby was two years of age the Charities supplied milk. In December, 1912, mother said she would like to commit two youngest children because she found it difficult to get along on allowance. She was discouraged about commitment. In February, 1913, oldest girl worked in workroom and earned \$4 a week. Woman desired to become self-supporting and go into business. The United Hebrew Charities felt that since woman was attending to the home and five children she could not very well go into business. March 16, 1913, daughter left workroom because she could not easily reach there unless she paid ten cents a day carfare.

At the last visit of the Charities, August 18, 1903, she was in the employ of the neckwear company earning \$4.50 a week. She requested that her mother be established in some small business so she would be relieved of giving most of her earnings toward the support of the home. She was told that the children needed the mother's care and that the business proposition was out of the question at present. The Charities gave family \$10 a month and \$6 semi-monthly and the Board of Patronesses gave \$6 semi-monthly.

#### TESTIMONY

Q. (the Chairman) How much do you figure they have a week in this particular family now, which your Board of Patronesses is assisting? A. (Mr. Hirsch) Exclusive of the rent?

Q. No, including everything. A. (Mr. Hirsch) Twelve dollars and twenty-five cents.

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (1706-II). Six children; girl 18, suffers from chlorosis but is able to work; boy 16; girl 12, 8; boy 10, one eye closed, girl 6. Father died in 1911. Family occupy four rooms and pay \$15 rent.

This case came to the Charities in 1900. Father was injured while at work and removed to hospital. After man's discharge, he worked at picture frames and woman did washing, but combined earnings were not enough to support family. Later, father deserted family and returned in December, 1910. He became ill and died in 1911. In 1912, mother was sent to a home and at the same time, January, 1912, 10-year old boy was committed to the care of a Society. The 8 and 6-year old girls, were committed to an infant asylum and the 12-year old girl was temporarily committed to Randall's Island. In the latter part of February, 1912, mother returned and was asked to take all her children home. She did so. She was not very strong. In fact, too ill to work. She filed application for admission to another home. She was in a sanatorium for a month and was discharged in April, 1913. In September, 1913, the 16-year old boy was learning the electrical trade and earning \$2 a week. The United Hebrew Charities was giving \$11.50 monthly and \$12 semi-monthly. Woman claimed that this was not sufficient for her needs. Unless her allowance

was increased, she threatened to commit her children or leave them altogether. At present 18-year old girl is not working. The Charities give \$11.50 monthly and occasionally help with \$4 weekly.

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (1711-H). Three children, boy 15, poor physique, not fit to work; girl 10; boy 9. Family living with woman's sister.

Case was reported in April, 1906. Man's trade, presser. Unable to work, suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis. There was no income. Family were forced to give up home and live with woman's sister; twelve people living in three rooms. In June, man's friends made a collection and sent him to Europe. The United Hebrew Charities assisted woman to move. Granted milk, coal and furniture. Relief for year amounted to \$152. Woman was extremely delicate; doctor stated she was unable to work. Children were also delicate and in need of good nourishment. Father was still in Europe. The Charities assisted with rent and living expenses. Granted clothing and coal. Relief for year, \$261.50. Man returned in 1908, disease arrested, able to do light work. On February 1st, the removal office sent family to where they had relatives. Relief for year \$12.

In March, 1911, woman and children returned to New York; while south, conducted a small grocery store, man again became very ill and was sent to Colorado with funds raised by Jewish Committee. Woman sold store and used money to return to New York. She lost her residence here and children could not be committed. The United Hebrew Charities established home in the Bronx. Granted pension of \$12 a month and \$6 semi-monthly. In September man was discharged from the hospital; he was then in the last stage of tuberculosis. The Charities granted supplies, milk, furniture and coal. Relief for year \$226.25.

In April, 1912, the father died. In May, mother called and stated that she was unable to get along on the allowance she got. She received \$3 weekly. Her allowance was not increased. She also received two quarts of milk daily.

In 1913, 15-year old boy graduated in February and is attending high school. He was only 13 when he graduated. He is suspected of having tuberculosis and was asked to go to the Pre-

ventorium, but he refused to go. The woman was suffering from neurasthenia of a very grave type and was hardly able to work for a living. The family occupied three rooms, rent \$12. The Charities have given coal, milk and supplies; \$12 monthly and \$8 semi-monthly.

#### TESTIMONY

Q. (the Chairman) Why did you want to commit the children? A. (Mr. Hirsch) We did not want to, she wanted to.

Q. How many are there in the family? A. (Mr. Hirsch) Three, the oldest boy is going to high school.

Q. He is a suspect, you wanted him sent to the Preventorium, he did not want to go? A. (Mr. Hirsch) Yes, he has a poor physique.

Q. That would hardly be enough to take care of the family. How on earth would you hope to bring them up on that? A. (Mr. Hirsch) Tell that to the Jewish contributing public. We have told them that very often.

Q. Therefore, we ought to have governmental aid? A. (Mr. Hirsch) I agree with you, supplementary to the amounts the private charities are receiving.

Q. Certainly, it must be realized that that is absolutely insufficient? A. (Mr. Hirsch) It certainly is.

Q. Especially under the circumstances? A. (Mr. Hirsch) Yes.

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (1707-H). Five children; boy 18, sick, not able to work; girl 16, ruptured; 14, chronic eye disease; 11; and boy of 7. Family living with woman's mother, paying \$8 a month toward rent.

This family came to the United Hebrew Charities in 1907. Husband was in Denver; he was a painter and had been ill for two years. Although he was not entirely incapacitated, his income was not sufficient to meet all needs. Physician told man to leave New York and cousin defrayed expenses. Woman disposed of her furniture and went to live with her mother. The Charities granted \$8 monthly toward rent. Man was admitted to tent hospital, Denver, in 1908, but left of his own accord after a month.

In July a pension of \$12 a month and \$6 semi-monthly was granted.

Furniture, clothing, shoes and milk were granted in 1909 and pension was continued and additional relief was given; the man having meantime returned to New York.

In 1910-1911 the man seemed to be healthy but not able to work; there were no wage earners in the family. The only income was what they received from the United Hebrew Charities. The 18-year old boy graduated from public school and for one month attended college. Mother claimed that her brother sent \$2 weekly for his expenses. Boy was compelled to give up his studies on account of illness. Father died July 20, 1911, neighbors made collection which paid for funeral.

In August, 1911, aid was increased to \$8 semi-monthly and \$12 monthly. Shoes, clothing and milk were also given.

The 16-year old girl graduated in February, 1912. Mother was determined to have her take up a course in the technical school. Girl was very much run down, and doctor advised her to stay at home for at least six months. The 18-year old boy had a position in a drugstore and earned \$3 weekly. The pension was continued.

The 16-year old girl, in 1913, attended the technical school and expected to graduate in February, 1914. Family occupy five rooms and pay a rental of \$12. The United Hebrew Charities give \$10 semi-monthly and \$12 monthly. They also give shoes, clothing and milk.

Eighteen-year old boy is attending High School. Mother does cleaning and earns \$5 a week.

#### TESTIMONY

Q. That seems to be quite an insufficient income? Mr. Waldman, how much is that? A. (Mr. Hirsch) \$10 semi.

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (1905-II). Four children; girl 20, is employed as buttonhole tacker and earns \$5 a week; boy 12, 10; girl 3. Family occupy 3 rooms and pay \$2.50 rent. Woman has one lodger who pays 62½ cents a week. Father died in 1909 of pneumonia.

Charities give \$1.75 towards rent. Application made February 15, 1911; date of last visit, December 12, 1913. Lodge father



belonged to buried him. Mother was entitled to \$30 benefit, but same was not given to her as lodge kept it towards payment of tombstone which cost \$50. The youngest girl was born five months after father's death. In May, 1913, the doctor's report states that mother is unable to work. The 20-year old girl earns \$5 a week and mother does a little washing to help herself with living expenses. Mother receives \$7 from the charities for rent.

#### TESTIMONY

Q. That is a very small income.

Q. (the Chairman) They are certainly getting an insufficient allowance because of lack of funds on the part of the U. H. C.. A. (Mr. Waldman) Indeed, it certainly is very little.

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (1909-H). Seven children; girl 18, employed in an office, earning \$8 a week, gives \$4 home; boy 15, employed in office, earns \$3 a week and gives \$3 home; boy 12, 11; girl 9, 8; boy 4. Father died September, 1910, from tuberculosis.

The United Hebrew Charities give \$1.50 a week and \$3 for rent. Family occupy 3 rooms and pay \$3 rental. Application made September, 1908. This family was assisted when father was living. Relief varied. Up to September 17, 1913, mother received \$12 for rent and \$6 semi-monthly. With the two children working she is receiving rent and \$3 semi-monthly.

Mr. James E. Dougherty, President of the Particular Council of the St. Vincent de Paul Society in the Bronx, and Mr. Thomas W. Hynes, President of the Brooklyn Society, on Friday, January 22, 1914, testified as follows:

Mr. Dougherty: The St. Vincent de Paul Society is a society formed for the purpose of visiting the poor in their homes, largely, in fact, almost entirely by volunteer workers, not only for their actual relief, but for the moral uplift and encouragement of such families. We do not undertake to keep the records and statistics which the ordinary incorporated society keeps, that is, the detailed records of cases. While our volunteers went in and gave what help they could and while they kept a record of the help

they gave, it was not a detailed record of investigation, supervision and visitation. We can't afford to give adequate relief in the sense that we would be able to support the family, but we try to help them, and then encourage them to help themselves. So far as widows are concerned, we do not have one widow for the three or four mothers that are just as badly dependent. The great number of people we have to help need temporary relief, people who are brought to that condition by sickness. While we keep a record in our respective conferences, we take the position that people who require outdoor relief should not be exposed to the public at large. We do all this thing in the most quiet, and most private way we possibly can.

If it can be safeguarded, I certainly would feel that rather than put the children in institutions, it would be better to take the money that the State has to expend, to try to keep the family together at home, in their own home. That is my firm belief. I believe in appropriating money to these large charitable institutions or organizations that the city would have confidence in, that would see that it was properly expended. The same spirit that prompts the conservation of their own funds and not the abuse of them would be maintained in distributing the other money that would come. My experience has taught me that it requires a special vocation for the distribution of these funds. I believe that any organization that would be established to take care of this fund would certainly be willing to receive with an open ear the applications coming from the charitable societies.

I certainly consider that the home is the place for the mother, and that she would be doing better work at home taking care of her children, if she has the means to keep that home.

Testimony of Mr. Hynes: The purpose of our society is not so much to give relief, as to try to help people to help themselves and to encourage them to find employment. Where we find a case of a widowed mother with four or five children and we find the home good and respectable, and have evidence of her affection, we make an effort to keep that family together. In those cases, which are few, we pay the rent and give them a little. Sometimes the widow goes out working — washing, ironing or something of that sort. We can't give any family adequate help. We are limited in our means. What we give is simply a fraction of what

we ought to give, or what they ought to get. As to the method of meeting this need, I believe that if the city of New York would appropriate a certain amount of money, test the matter for one year through the large charitable institutions like the Hebrew institution of New York, the St. Vincent de Paul Society of New York and Brooklyn, allow them a certain amount of money and let them use it in their discretion for the purpose of keeping the family together, perhaps it would be a good way to test it. I believe that if you are going to establish a bureau for the purpose of helping these widows in the way your propose, I am afraid it is going to be abused. If a proper bureau can be opened and the members selected, perhaps from representatives of charitable organizations, with some laymen or women serving on this non-partisan, nonsalaried board, I think they could be just as responsible as people who are connected with private organizations.

### The Associated Charities and Churches of Syracuse

The Commission on January 30, 1914, considered the records of families of widowed mothers which had been receiving attention since January 1, 1912, from the Associated Charities and Churches of Syracuse. This organization was represented at the hearing by Mr. Paul E. Illman, General Secretary. The facts and the testimony with relation to some of the families under consideration are as follows:

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (2202-S). Five children; girl 20, married, not at home; girl 18, earning \$5 a week; boy 16, on farm; boy 12 at school; girl 5, cripple. Family occupy 3 rooms, \$9 a month rent.

December, 1913, this family was reported as having a crippled child. Associated Charities visitor called but said he could not get any information as family could not speak English. They had a crippled child, however. At Christmas time child was sent some nightgowns and toys. On January 7th social service worker called. Oldest boy had been at Industry but is now on probation and working for his board on a farm where they speak very nicely of him. Youngest child had been run over by a street car 15 months before and taken to hospital, where both limbs had been amputated. She was in the hospital 10 weeks and in every other way was strong and healthy.

The city was giving \$2 week grocery order and coal. The Charities visitor got the grocery order increased to \$2.50. Visitor talked with doctor who had operated on girl and he said he saw no reason why child should not have artificial limbs, providing the Crippled Children's Fund could pay for them.

#### TESTIMONY

Q. Does the mother earn anything at all? A. (Mr. Illman) I think not.

Q. Where does the rent come from and how much income is there? A. (Mr. Illman) Five dollars a week the girl earns and the city gives \$2.50 and coal.

Q. Where does the rent come from? A. (Mr. Illman) Probably paid out of the \$5 that the girl earns.

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (2203-S). Five children; boy 14, works in a factory and earns \$3.50 a week; boy 12, 11, 9 and 3. 12-year-old boy attends school and sells papers; he earns \$1.50 a week. Family occupy 5 rooms and pay \$12 rent. Father killed in a mine.

This case was reported by hospital. The 11-year-old boy had fallen down a hole in the Seitz Building and hurt his foot.

October 31st family receiving \$2 a week from city. Mother a washerwoman averaging \$3.50 a week. Needed clothes and the church society became interested in the family. Boys received shoes and clothing. A Mr. A. who worked for a fraternity house able to supply family with food. Their pastor provided Christmas dinner for family and they received other baskets. January 6, 1913, the church society and Department of Charity supplied shoes. City aid approved. March 27th the Charities Committee recommended \$3 a week; city to give \$2.50 a week and coal through April. Woman moved, paying \$12 rent; the 12-year-old boy was then making \$2 a week, selling papers. Oldest boy lost job. Woman received \$65 for 11-year-old boy's accident. Woman in bad physical condition. Felt she could care for herself if rent was secured as she could take fewer washings. Her pastor promised to provide rent. Oldest boy was later working at factory and earning \$3.50 a week. Society furnished clothes for the winter and the city was furnishing coal and sending grocery order of \$2.50 weekly. Doctor advised woman to go to hospital, but she objected as she did not know what would become of children. Visitor tried to find someone to stay with children.

#### TESTIMONY

Q. I suppose that might be considered one of the cases where, if there was more money, the woman ought to stay home and take care of the children? A. (Mr. Illman) Yes. There are some things that do not appear in the record. The church society kept promising to take care of that family and give more adequately, but they didn't do it.

Q. But inasmuch as this woman had had this trouble and was ill, wouldn't it have been just for the sake of the children and the woman's health that you would insist upon her staying at home and giving her additional assistance? A. (Mr. Illman) We didn't have it.

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (2204-S). Six children; girl 22, married; boys 16, 14; girl 12; boys 10, 6. Family occupy 3 rooms, rent free.

December 6, 1912, Charities Visitor called as family were receiving help from the city. A widow with 6 children and no income. Oldest girl, who had been working and helping had been married and was no longer able to help. There was a brother living near who helped when he could, but it was nothing that could be depended upon. The house was small, but fairly neat, and was scarcely warm enough to sit in. City gives \$3 a week and coal. Woman in bad physical condition but did not wish to submit to an operation as she did not know what would become of the family if anything happened to her. Children looked fairly well fed, but had not enough clothing for the winter. December 23d, visitor called with basket of provisions and some toys, which were very gratefully received. January 13, 1913, report received from pastor that family would be cared for.

#### TESTIMONY

Q. They say they were receiving help from the city. It must have been sent as a city charge? A. (Mr. Illman) Possibly the worker didn't understand the settlement at that time.

Q. Will you tell us about the overseer? A. (Mr. Illman) He is very ignorant and won't give aid anywhere near adequate. We might in the city get adequate aid, but in these outlying towns we are in trouble.

Q. In these outlying places there are cases in difficulty? A. (Mr. Illman) But there is the county and the government; it seems to me that with a little adjustment the county superintendent of the poor could be made responsible for those cases.

## SYNOPSIS

Widow (2205-S). Two children; boys 11 and 10, attending school. Pays \$15 a month rent. Father died September, 1913.

April 30, 1913, clinic doctor called to see if aid could be given, as man was tubercular and should stop work, but said he could not afford it. T.B. nurse had called at house. Woman's mother, living with family, cleaned offices from 5 p. m. to 12 p. m. at \$5 a week. Woman did no outside work. Doctor reported that man could be cared for at home if family moved into less congested neighborhood, where man could have use of porch and yard. Visitor tried to find house for family, but May 12th woman said they had changed their minds, didn't want charity from any source. In May man stopped work, family living on his savings and what woman's mother earned. In June latter lost her place. Charities gave \$19 during June. Man going to clinic regularly and getting milk and eggs. July 1st, family moved, where they had a porch and 5 rooms at \$15 a month. The Charities paid rent for June and July and July 2d gave woman \$4 pension. Woman's mother went to live with her husband whom she had left in September on account of drunkenness. T.B. Committee had furnished money for family so far but felt that expense had been so great that church must help out. Woman felt very badly. Said she would prefer anything to charity. Visitor called on pastor, who said he would look into the matter and recommend relief. Later church started giving \$3 a week grocery order, which was continued up to man's death. July 11th, General Secretary of Charities authorized \$3 cash relief weekly. This amount plus the society's grocery order would enable family to get along. T.B. Committee also paid rent August 1st. Boys were staying with their grandmother, coming home to their dinner and returning late in the afternoon. The Charities also paid September rent. The man died September 9th and the Charities gave \$5 September 10th and same September 16th. Visitor suggested that woman take place cleaning offices from 6 p. m. to 11 p. m. (no Sunday or holiday work), for \$6 per week, find new quarters for \$8 or \$10 a month near woman's mother, and the church society could be counted on for at least \$3 a week. According to this the woman could be home

in the day time and look after her children. But mother rejected this plan. Said she preferred to clerk in a store. October 27th woman working in a restaurant at \$5 a week.

TESTIMONY

Q. (the Chairman) Isn't that very low pay, \$5 a week?

A. (Mr. Illman) She gets her meals in the restaurant. She wouldn't do what we wanted her to do.



### The United Charities of Rochester

The Commission on January 30, 1914, gave consideration to the records of families of widowed mothers which had been under the care of the United Charities of Rochester since January 1, 1912. This organization was represented at the hearing by —

The following is a summary of the facts and the testimony with relation to the families considered by the Commission:

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (2301-R). Five children, girl 18, works in knitting factory, earns \$4.50 a week; girl 15, boy 10, 5; girl 4. Fifteen-year old girl goes to deaf and dumb school; two boys go to parochial school. Father died January, 1912. Since father's death woman had been doing washing, sometimes doing four washings in one day. Woman's mother lived with her. The three girls were deaf-mutes. Woman is very nervous, which doctor says is due to her having a goitre. The United Charities are trying to get woman to have operation for goitre, as doctor has recommended. Woman's mother died October, 1913. Since November 22, 1912, The United Charities have been giving woman \$8 every two weeks with the exception of a short time in the summer when woman was away on a vacation.

#### TESTIMONY

Q. That makes \$14.50 a week, which is quite a fair income. Don't you think that the woman ought not to be required to do so much work? A. (Mr. Kirk) Up to the present time she has been working with her mother, who was a very stout German woman.

Q. Don't you think that is too much? A. (Mr. Kirk) I think she should give up her work and if she will have an operation for goitre we will give her as much relief as we can. Of course, while in the hospital it would be the entire support of the family.

Q. Well, wouldn't it have to take the place of the amount she earned? A. (Mr. Kirk) Yes, surely.

## SYNOPSIS

Widow (2302-R). Three children; boys, aged 10, 6 and 5. Rent \$3 a week.

January 17, 1913, family referred to United Charities by agent as being behind with rent. After man's death, had taken a rooming-house, but this had failed. Had been supporting herself and children by doing washing, but had been ill and was three weeks behind with rent. Visitor got woman's brother-in-law to pay the \$9 due on rent and also to give \$1 a week towards rent up to April 1st. The United Charities and the church also aided woman with rent and friendly visitor was secured for family. Woman went as a laundress in July and the United Charities paid for storage of furniture and insurance and carfare. In September woman spent a week at a vacation home, the United Charities paying fare. On her return she went to live in a house where she had five rooms at \$2.50 a week. The United Charities paid two weeks' rent, moving expenses and sent groceries to amount of \$1.78. September 29th, woman had two washings a week and expected more. In the spring, the United Charities had woman given lessons in ironing. The Department of Charities give family \$8 a month and coal.

## TESTIMONY

Q. How much do you make the income of that family to be? A. (Mr. Kirk) At the time we knew them, about \$9 or \$10 a week.

Q. She earned about \$3 a week? A. (Mr. Kirk) She afterwards earned more than that; about \$5 a week.

Q. She got coal besides? A. (Mr. Kirk) We gave her \$2.

Q. She had \$6.50 to pay for food and light and insurance and whatever clothing the church didn't furnish? A. (Mr. Kirk) The two oldest children got shoes from the Department of Charities.

Q. How often? A. (Mr. Kirk) Whenever they need them, they supply shoes to school children.

Q. Isn't the balance rather small in this case? A. (Mr. Kirk) Perhaps so.

## SYNOPSIS

Widow (2305-R). Six children; girl 19 works in shoe factory,

earns \$6 a week; boy 18, attends school and works in a grocery store, \$1.75 a week; boy 17, does odd jobs and attends public school; earns \$1.35 a week; girl and boy, twins, 12; boy had a paper route and goes to school, earns \$1 a week; girl 11, attends school.

Mother does cleaning work, income \$5 a week. Case referred by private individuals, asking how glasses, costing \$6, which had been prescribed for woman, could be obtained. Family occupying a six-room stone cottage, rent \$4.25 a week. Woman seemed worried not to be able to bring up her children. Said they were running wild, especially the 12-year old boy, who was in the class for backward children. Oldest girl spent practically all of her earnings on her own clothes and was completely unmanageable. Teacher's diagnosis of the family situation was that mother was breaking down physically and was really unable to cope with the extraordinary task of bringing up six children and at the same time earning a livelihood. Later church paid \$3 on glasses for woman and woman herself paid the other \$3. The United Charities spent \$51.79 on vacation for family in summer of 1913; spent \$8.03 for clothing for family in July and August and paid \$10.75 for storage for furniture and in September, \$5 for moving expenses and \$3.50 for one week's rent when woman took five rooms. Family are still receiving \$8 a month in groceries and one-quarter ton of coal every three weeks from city.

#### TESTIMONY

Q. (the Chairman) Do you think you were justified in allowing that woman to work so hard? A. (Mr. Kirk) I felt that whatever relief we put in that home wouldn't have altered conditions there. For some time she hadn't been able to manage the children and they were utterly beyond her control. The first plan we made was to put the children in good homes for a little while where they could have an opportunity to see what right and wrong living was and we found a place for her at a convalescent home and she refused to do that, and we felt that the thing to do then was to let the mother contribute for a while. We sent the boys to the boys' camp and the girls to another home and the woman went back to her

own people and that did a great deal of good. They moved into a better home and all came home with higher standards of living and they proceeded to buy a set of parlor furniture. The teacher felt it was a great advance over last year.

Q. Isn't it too much to expect of any woman with six children who need constant care and oversight and washing and mending and cooking of meals, to have to go out and earn money? A. (Mr. Kirk) I think she ought to have been given more money in the very beginning. If she could have been helped then, it might have saved the situation.

Q. That is the contention of the people who feel that money ought to be given the families at the start so you won't have to experiment with the family and let them go down hill, but be able to take care of them at the start? A. (Mr. Kirk) I think it would have to be very carefully supervised.

### The Charity Organization Society of Buffalo

The Commission on February 27, 1914, gave consideration to the records of families of widowed mothers which had been under the care of the Charity Organization Society of Buffalo during the years 1912 and 1913. The Society was represented at the hearings by Mr. Ansley Wilcox, its president, and by Mrs. Anna B. Fox, assistant secretary.

The following is a summary of the facts and the testimony with relation to the families considered by the Commission:

#### SYNOPSIS

Widow (5245-B. C.). Three children; boy 19, girls 9 and 1. Father died November, 1912. Family occupy 4 rooms, rent \$9 a month.

Family received a \$2 grocery order August 16, 1913, from the city. Oldest boy had been working in a little country place, but did not feel well and so had returned. Visitor left card with instructions for boy to go to doctor and assured him she would make every effort to find work for him, provided he would go to the doctor first. Woman was taking boarders. Received another grocery order from city August 25th and four orders during September. Visitor later called and learned that boy had been in Batavia some weeks before and had been entrusted with money belonging to his uncle, with whom he was staying, and had run away to Buffalo, giving part of the money to his mother for her rent and keeping the remainder. Uncle had him arrested. He was placed on probation and would have to remain in Batavia until he had paid his uncle out of his earnings. Woman had three boarders. Received five grocery orders during October from the city. Then city aid was cut off as it was learned that boy had a job. Uncle had gotten angry at the family because woman refused to go to Batavia to live with him as his wife, although he could not marry her, having a wife in the old country. Boy said his uncle had suggested to his mother that she could make at least \$60 a month in Batavia as a prostitute among the Polish men. Boy said that when his mother refused to even listen to such a suggestion, the uncle lied to the officer about the money boy had, because it was not stolen, boy had

earned it while working in Batavia. Woman had bills at three different groceries and the day before grocer had refused to trust her any further. There was no food in the house. Visitor left an order for \$2.50 and invited children to the Christmas tree and promised woman some help at Christmas. January 2d visitor called and left grocery order for \$2.50. So far boy had been unable to get a job. Landlord had been bothering them for rent and there was no food in the house. Visitor left grocery order for \$3 and a note for the landlord asking him to call up C. O. S. before serving eviction papers. January 19th, C. O. S. paid rent of \$9.50 and January 22d visitor called at house and found woman had two boarders. Woman said they would pay their share of the rent at the end of the month. Visitor warned woman that although rent was paid for January it would not be paid next month by C. O. S. Boarders must pay or get out of house. Visitor reported that there was enough sleeping room for boarders. Visitor gave boy a note to get work and left \$1 grocery order.

## TESTIMONY

Q. Were these boarders men or women? A. (Miss Austin) Men.

Q. Do you usually encourage that kind of thing? A. (Miss Austin) I don't think we were encouraging it.

Q. It doesn't seem here that you took any steps to prevent it.

Q. Have you any definite plan for the rehabilitation of the family, providing such relief as is necessary and omitting the taking of the boarders? A. (Miss Austin) The Committee seemed perfectly willing to help her and I really judge from my knowledge of the family they would have helped her if the boarders would get out. We secured a job for the boy, cleaning the streets; for the past couple of weeks he failed to show up for the work and it shows they were not anxious to help themselves. They could earn \$7 a week. The budget is only \$6.50.

## SYNOPSIS

Widow (4720-B.C.). Three children, boys, 12, 11 and 9. Father died November, 1911, of tuberculosis. Left insurance of \$250.

Woman applied on April 23d, 1912, to have her children committed. Woman had lived with sister and with relatives and friends since husband's death. Had been forced to sleep on floor with three children, as there was no room. The three children were taken to an institution. Mother stated it almost broke her heart to think of having her children committed, but there was nothing else for her to do. Her plan was to keep the boys at the institution until she could earn enough money to get together a little home. Had secured employment the day before at a laundry where she had worked before her marriage. Did not know how much she would receive, as it was piece work. Greater part of insurance money had gone toward man's funeral expenses. Man's partner had been sending woman money from time to time since man's death, but did not feel he could keep that up indefinitely. Woman had no relatives who could assist her in getting up a little home. May 11th woman had taken a furnished room near her work. Later Society secured position for woman at a mission where she worked all summer as laundress. September 12th woman called at office and asked for Crèche privilege and labor register card. Stated that with her summer wages she had rented a flat at \$13 a month. Had 4 rooms, 2 of which she hoped to sub-let to two women. Had taken children home and her plan was to put children in Crèche and go out to work every day. Was very anxious to keep up her home, as she thought children's health failed when they were in an institution. Oldest boy's jaw had been swollen for about a month and he looked pale and peaked. Visitor gave woman card to take boy to doctor for examination and gave her work at cleaning that night and labor register card. November 14th woman's nephew was boarding with her. November 29th a member of C. O. S. Committee had secured work for woman at a woman's club as assistant cook at \$35 a month and her board. January 23, 1913, woman had been discharged as unreliable. March 26th woman's sister was staying with her and woman was working every day, being just about able to meet her expenses. April 7th woman said she was usually out every day and seemed to be able to stand the work better than she had during the winter. May 28th another young man boarding with woman. Woman was still working nearly

every day and seemed to be getting along very nicely. September 3d, nephew still boarding with her, but other young man had left. October 10th Superintendent of Crèche reported that she had had a good deal of trouble with the boys, especially second one. Had wilfully disobeyed and urged the other boys to do same. Superintendent had reports that woman drank at home and also invited other Crèche mothers to do the same. Woman was rapidly becoming careless in her way of living. Sent children out for beer every night. District visitor had a talk with woman and November 7th Committee decided to continue Crèche privilege as long as children behaved satisfactorily. Friendly visitor was appointed for family.

#### TESTIMONY

Q. Have you thought of the plan of giving the mother an allowance and allowing her to stay home and take care of the children? Was that suggested? A. (Miss Carroll) That was talked over in the beginning by the Committee. That is the first thing when a widow and children come up for discussion.

Q. I thought the record stated she did not wish to part with her children? A. (Miss Carroll) In the very beginning she did not want to commit the children. She said it nearly broke her heart to commit them.

Q. Is she getting any help at all? A. (Miss Carroll) No help at all.

The following testimony on the subject of relief for widowed mothers was given by leading poor law officers of the principal cities of the State charged with the duty of dealing with the cases of such mothers:

Testimony of Mr. Frederick E. Bauer, Superintendent of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Public Charities, Manhattan, given before the Committee at a hearing on January 22, 1914:

Mr. Bauer: We have the closest kind of co-operation between the Children's Bureau and the various private charities. Every



day we send, for instance, a list of all applications that are made to the Bureau to the various organizations — Hebrew Charities, Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, The Charity Organization Society and St. Vincent de Paul Society. It works out quite well. If they have anything to offer as an alternative to commitment, they send it in, and we leave the case in their hands. I have found — I do not say that that don't help families — that many of them are not adequately assisted.

It is understood that in every case where a mother is interviewed by our examiner and expresses a desire to keep her children at home, an effort is made through one of the various private charities to effect that end — to keep the mother and children together. But it also happens that there are sometimes so many children — five, six or seven — that private charity feels that a certain number of the children ought to be committed, and then they attempt in their way to assist the mother with the balance of them. I do not believe that any of these organizations have the money to do the work as it ought to be done, that is, to give what I would call adequate relief. I believe it advisable to keep the whole family together and let the city pay the money directly. I do not know whether it would be desirable to have this relief administered through our office; it might be, but it would not be done with the present force, of course. I believe we could get a suitable force to do it under the supervision of our office.

I have no doubt that suitable persons could be secured to do that work by the Public Charities Department just as well as it could be done by private institutions. I do not think that the investigators of my Bureau are in any way different from the investigators of the private charities, nor is the private charity investigator a superior type than our investigator.

Testimony of Commissioner William H. Storrs of Albany, given before the Committee on January 29, 1914:

Mr. Storrs: We have never made any subdivisions that would enable us to give information in regard to widows' cases here. We have an investigation sheet that goes into their resources. I cannot say that we do have so many widowed mothers. The

Poor Law limits our resources to \$10, but of course we consider that absurd and don't attempt to adhere to that, although it is a State law. In this class of cases we have examinations to know whether they are warranted in getting what they ask for and Mr. Reed usually gives an order for a quarter of a ton of coal and \$1 or \$2 worth of groceries, according to the number of children. I find that they prefer going to a public place for assistance rather than private charities, because what is done there is sub-rosa; they wouldn't want it known that they were receiving assistance. I believe by giving the local authorities the machinery for investigation and supervision and the funds adequate for assistance, there is no reason why they couldn't handle the cases as well as the private charities.

Testimony of Commissioner Gerald B. Fitzgerald of Troy, given before the Committee on January 29, 1914.

Mr. Fitzgerald: We have a system in Troy that is a little bit different than any other system in the State of New York, with the exception of Schenectady; I believe they have started a similar system. We maintain a storehouse up there and we buy our provisions wholesale and in that way we are able to give probably more relief than by giving an order on the storekeeper. In that way we know the people go and get exactly what we have to give them. We give food that is sensible, and our experience is that whatever relief that is needed we are able to give it to them. We give them our provision order every week; that is, providing we deem it necessary, and we keep that relief on. It is greater in the winter than in the summer. They are able to maintain themselves in the summer and sometimes they don't come. Some of them we have to force off and some go by themselves. Some we keep all the year. We find in the cases of women and children in the summer time it isn't necessary for them to come to us. As compared with the general number of cases, we have a large percentage of widowed mothers in Troy. Our general rule with regard to the amount of relief is to give them all that we deem necessary. Some families get possibly \$1 worth of provisions and some possibly \$2, and we have everything at wholesale prices. We pay rent in some instances — wherever necessary.

During the past year we have had over three hundred cases of widowed mothers. The amount of outdoor relief given comes close to \$20,000, and about nearly half of that goes to widowed mothers and children. Practically all of our widowed mothers work. It is my opinion that the dependent widowed mother seeking to bring her children up can get adequate help from the Department of Charities. We feel we have sufficient money, although we could always use more.

As to possible improvements in the methods of relieving the widowed mother and her children I think some of the charity departments are not generous enough in it. We have got in the asylums in Troy sixty-eight widow's children committed there and we have got fifty-four children that we kept in homes by paying the rents, which is practically as many in the asylum as in the homes. These children are in asylums because of the poverty of the mother; she wasn't able to keep her home together.

I think that public officials could administer such a law as you suggest much better than private officials.

Testimony of Clarence S. McBirney, Commissioner of Charities of Rochester, given before the Commission on January 30, 1914:

Mr. McBirney: We have had 135 cases of widows with dependent children within the past year. The total amount spent for outdoor relief is about \$41,000.

We have a store at our headquarters, a grocery store, where we provide for people able to come and get it, and in cases where they are unable to come, through sickness or other causes, we give them orders on outside grocery stores. We do not pay rent. We endeavor to keep the children with the mothers, if possible, and we help them as liberally as we can with the appropriation we have to work with in order to do that. We run from \$1 to perhaps \$4 a week. For instance, to a widow with three or four small children we would probably give \$2 provisions, supply her children's shoes and furnish coal, provide a doctor and such as that. In my judgment, our appropriation doesn't permit us to give help as liberally as we would like to. If we had the means at our disposal it would be our purpose to have the mother stay at home.

Testimony of Mr. Louis J. Kengott, Overseer of the Poor of Buffalo, given before the Committee on February 27, 1914:

Mr. Kengott: I wish especially to call your attention to one feature of municipal aid to the poor which I deem of constantly growing importance. That is, how shall widowed mothers with a family with children to support and send to school, and who are obliged to rely on this department for aid, be adequately supplied with the necessities of life? Manifestly, it cannot be done on \$2 a week. This is about the highest amount that can be paid them under the present appropriation for this department. I recognize the principle that the government owes the duty of taking care of widowed mothers with families and children, and believe that governmental aid is a governmental function in cases of widowed mothers with families. I am of the opinion that such provision should be made for widowed mothers who are left without means of support, either by the State or city, or both, to enable them to care for and keep together the family, and preserve their self-respect, and guide the children in their mental and religious education. The future welfare of the child and the State, it seems to me, demands it. The wisdom of the law making bodies should be sufficient to meet that demand.

If these fatherless children are wards of the State, as the acts of the Legislature would seem to indicate, then the time is right, it seems to me, for the State to take a more active and substantial interest in their welfare.

I believe that public servants can be trusted to wisely, efficiently and satisfactorily administer such a law, and I do not believe that such a law would have the tendency to create dependency.

As the result of its examination the Committee finds that no present arrangement exists, or appears to be anywhere in sight in this State, whereby needy widowed mothers with young children dependent upon them for support, can be assured of the regular and adequate assistance they require. The Committee further finds that this condition of inadequate care is greatly aggravated in the City of New York, where no public provision exists for the relief of widowed mothers in their homes, and

where, as in other parts of the State, the means at the command of the private relief organizations are entirely inadequate for the work of this nature which they have voluntarily assumed.

Respectfully submitted,

HANNAH B. EINSTEIN,

*Chairman.*

## Organized Charity Gives Less Than Two Cents a Day Per Person in Widow Cases

### INVESTIGATION OF TWO HUNDRED DEPENDENT FAMILIES SHOWS MONEY AID IS SLIGHT. CASH GOES TO SERVICE

In two hundred average widow cases cared for by the private charity organizations, approximately two cents per day per person is the average contributed, including all necessities, such as rent, fuel, clothing and cash.

Seventy cents per week average is the amount contributed for necessities for such families of five, which is the average number.

More than 50 per cent. of the money expended by the city for all charitable institutions is given to private institutions to keep children there.

More than 30,000 children kept in institutions in the city of New York, exclusive of sick or delinquents.

Children paid for by the city of New York in institutions at the last count, November 1, 1914, number 20,522.

Approximately \$2,667,860 is paid by the city to keep these children in institutions.

More than 10,000 children committed to institutions and paid for by guardians and other individuals who do not seek charity.

Four thousand children have lived in institutions upward of five years.

Seventy-five per cent. of the cases handled by organized charity do not seek charity of their own accord, but their destitution is reported by neighbors, friends, etc.

More than \$5,000,000 spent annually by the State for keeping children in institutions.

In 200 average cases taken from the records to January 1, 1914, in three charitable organizations, namely, the Charity Organization Society, Brooklyn Bureau of Charities and the Association for the Improvement of Conditions of the Poor, in their various districts of the city, we found that less than two cents per day was the average amount per person contributed in the majority of cases. This two cents includes rent, fuel, clothing,

cash and all such necessities. The average time these cases were carried was two years.

The highest average contribution per person was given by the Association for the Improvement of Condition of the Poor. It may also be noted that this society has evidently recognized the great claim of the widow with children, since a special fund was set aside by them for their aid during the past year. It is the only private organization that has passed resolutions indorsing government aid for children of widows.

The following are 168 cases taken from eight districts in three charity organizations:

Number of cases, 168; average time of case, two years; total assistance given, \$10,036.23 (this covers food, clothing, rent, gas, fuel, etc.); average size of family, five persons; average amount for each family, about \$59.74; average amount for each family for one year, \$29.87; average amount for each family for one month, \$2.49; average amount for each family for one day, \$0.083; average amount for each person for one day, \$0.016.

The following are cases taken from one district of the Charity Organization Society:

Number of cases, 49; average time of case, 1 year 5 months; total assistance given, \$1,772; average size of family, five persons; average amount for each family, \$36.17; average amount for each family for one month, \$2.12; average amount for each family for one day, \$0.07; average amount for each person for one day, \$0.01½.

The general claim of private charity organizations, in spite of these figures, has been that they have taken care of all widows' cases presented to them. This care, according to their manner of treatment, has been divided into two elements — service and relief. W. Frank Persons, Director of the Charity Organization Society, was asked by the commission what his organization regarded as relief and service.

*All Service and Little Relief, Director Admits*

It was found from the following testimony that much of the "service" they give is obtained by them free of charge. There-

fore most of the money solicited by the Charity Organization Society is used in administration of what they term "service."

MR. PERSONS — In the Charity Organization Society there is an entire separation of funds intended for service and those intended for the material needs called relief. Every legacy given to the society, unless it is specifically designated to be used for a purpose, goes into the fund which is used exclusively for service. (The contributions made for service are used exclusively for that purpose. Any contribution made for relief is used exclusively for that purpose.)

The CHAIRMAN — What is the difference between service and relief as you characterize it?

MR. PERSONS — I am using relief now in this sense to mean exclusively the material things, as rent, fuel, food, clothing, etc. I am using service to include every kind of help secured for the family or given to the family, directly or indirectly, other than those material things.

MR. PERSONS — The cash allowance would be payment for the relief funds, for the material wants of the family.

*How Mr. Persons Defines Charity "Service"*

The CHAIRMAN — What is service, then, Mr. Persons?

MR. PERSONS — Service are those things equally important, and even more important, which have to do with the rehabilitation of the family, the elevation of its circumstances, of its standard of living, the improving of its opportunities in every direction beyond the satisfaction of its material wants.

The CHAIRMAN — What illustration or example can you give of that?

MR. PERSONS — The illustrations are, of course, multitudinous. In any one family, for instance, we may find need for legal service, for medical service, for nursing service, particular opportunities for special recreation, as fresh air work for convalescents, and necessity for special tutoring of backward children, or even, as in some rare instances, the special training of a young girl who



stutters. That is an illustration, which is a peculiar term, but applies to very many cases in the aggregate in various ways. Those things the society does not need to pay for out of its funds because they can be secured from other public or private agencies organized to confer those specific kinds of help. I have not mentioned, of course, as yet, the service rendered in moral ways. Such assistance rendered by those with whom the family is put in touch, as strange relatives or settlement clubs and classes, or personal relationship between mother and school teacher, a multitude of relationships of that kind which serve to give the family an atmosphere, environment, dignity and content that it has not had before.

CHAIRMAN — Does not that mean social service work?

MR. PERSONS — I do not care what you call it, but I want to draw a distinction between carrying material things to the family, which is infinitesimal, and the expense necessary for the family to get the other things it needs.

MR. PERSONS — So far as I know the society has not failed to obtain relief when informed of the existence of want, so far as the necessities of life are concerned.

*Tells of Society's Need of Cash for More Service.*

MR. PERSONS — I feel the need conspicuously of more money for service, although I also feel the need of more money for relief in the sense that I defined those terms before. It seems to me, speaking generally, that the progress the society has made in the last six years, particularly during my knowledge of its work, has been gratifying, and it has been because we have spent more money in doing the things that the family needed in order to advance their wellbeing, and by that process we have found it easier to get the increased amounts of relief that we have expended, and just so far as we can impress upon the public the opportunity that the society has and the capacity the society has to advance the wellbeing of families, we will get the money for that purpose.

It is one thing to keep a family along on the level of existence, fully clothed and fully fed, but without ambition for the better-

ment of the welfare of the lives of their children. It is another thing to do that and also fill the family with ambition for better things, and for advancement. I suppose the commission is aware that the families under the care of any relief organization are drawn almost exclusively from the ranks of the casual laborers. We do not have once in a score of times, we do not have once in a hundred times, I think, a family under our care for any length of time that comes from the skilled trades, or from the professions, or from occupations such as barbers or stenographers or clerks.

These two hundred cases were taken from the records of three organizations, namely, the Charity Organization Society (C. O. S.); Brooklyn Bureau of Charities (B. Bu. of Ch.), and the Association for Improving the Conditions of the Poor (A. I. C. P.)

The expert accountants that computed these figures in their report stated that "in computing amount of moneys given for clothing, rent, food, other necessities and actual cash, in every case the benefit of fractions and odd pennies is given to the credit of the charitable societies, in order to facilitate the work, and ascertain the approximate amount given to each family."

Following are the averages of each organization:

	A. I. C. P.	B. Bu. of Ch	C. O. S.	Total
Number of cases.....	65	54	81	200
Average time of case.....	2 years	2 yr. 6 mo.	1 yr. 5 mo.	2 years
Total amount relief given.....	\$8,065.98	\$3,746.25	\$5,925.00	\$17,737.23
Average size of family.....	5 persons	6 persons	abt 5 per	5 persons
Total amount per family.....	\$124.092	\$69.37 1/2	\$73.15	\$88.68 5/8
Average amount per year.....	62.046	27.75	51.64	44.34 +
Average amount per month.....	5.1705	2.31 1/4	4.30 3/10	3.69 +
Average amount per day.....	.17235	.07 7/10	.14 1/3	.12 +
Average amount per day per person.....	.03447	.01 3/10	.02 8/10	.02 +

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A few additions have been made to bring this material up to date. The Commission gratefully acknowledges the courtesy of both these Libraries for the use of their valuable material.

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EXTRACT FROM THE RECORDS OF THE NEW YORK SOCIETY FOR  
THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN IN RELATION  
TO CHILDREN OF WIDOWS COMMITTED TO INSTITUTIONS BY  
THE JUSTICES AT THE CHILDREN'S COURT, COVERING THE  
PRESENT COUNTIES OF NEW YORK AND THE BRONX, FOR  
THE PERIOD FROM JANUARY 1, 1910, TO DECEMBER 1, 1913.

Case No.	Sex	Age	Charge	Source.	Reasons
1..	Girl....	14	Neglect.....	Private.....	Family very poor; mother works; support inadequate.
	Boy ...	12			
	Boy ...	10			
2..	Boy ...	13	Vagrancy....	Officer of railroad..	Boy deserted home; mother of good repute; works out daily.
3..	Boy ...	10	Runaway....	Police officer.....	Mother of good repute; works out daily to support home.
4..	Girl....	11	Neglect.....	C. O. S.....	Found children starving and neglected; woman works out daily and has a bad reputation.
	Girl....	8			
	Girl....	4			
	Boy ...	2			
5..	Boy ...	14	Drunkenness..	Police officer.....	Boy associates with bad company; mother works out and has excellent reputation.
6..	Boy ...	13	Larceny.....	Private.....	Mother works out daily; boy ungovernable; family reputation good.
7..	Girl....	9	Neglect.....	Mother.....	Cannot properly supervise child; works out daily.
8..	Boy ...	13	Destitute....	C. O. S.....	Woman too poor to care for child.
9..	Boy ...	12	Ungovernable.	Church.....	Boy associates with bad company; mother of good repute; works out daily.
10..	Boy ...	8	Incorrigible..	Church.....	Beyond control; works out; very good repute.
	Boy ...	14			
11..	Girl....	13	Neglect.....	Mother.....	Mother works all day; cannot care for girl.
12..	Boy ...	15	Pickpocket...	Detective bureau..	Boy with bad company; home and mother respectable; works out daily.
13..	Boy ...	12	Disorderly....	Mother.....	Boy incorrigible; mother good; works out daily.
14..	Boy ...	15	Disorderly....	Mother.....	Associates with gang; mother excellent repute; works out.
15..	Boy ...	15	Larceny.....	Police officer.....	Boy incorrigible; home and mother respectable; works out daily.
16..	Boy ...	15	Neglect.....	C. O. S.....	Woman works out; unable to adequately support home; no evidence of alleged intemperance.
	Boy ...	6			
	Boy ...	8			
	Girl....	8			
17..	Boy ...	11	Larceny.....	Private.....	Boy ungovernable; woman works out daily; good repute.
	Boy ...	10			
18..	Boy ...	15	Disorderly....	Private.....	Charged with stealing; home and mother of good repute; works out daily.

EXTRACTS FROM THE RECORDS OF CHILDREN'S COURT—*Continued*

Case No.	Sex	Age	Charge	Source	Reasons
19..	Boy...	15	Stealing.....	Mother.....	Boy ungovernable; mother is respectable and works out as nurse.
20..	Boy...	13	Pickpocket...	Detective.....	Boy associates with bad company; home and mother respectable; mother peddler; supports family.
21..	Girl....	15	Immoral.....	Private.....	Girl mentally deficient; mother respectable; works out daily.
22..	Boy...	15	Larceny.....	Private.....	Boy with bad companions; home good; mother works out daily.
23..	Boy...	11	Ungovernable.	Mother.....	Mother respectable; unable to support child.
24..	Boy...	12	Disorderly....	Mother.....	Bad associates; mother good reputation; woman works out daily.
25..	Girl....	11	Ungovernable.	Aunt.....	Girl incorrigible; mother respectable and works out daily.
26..	Boy...	10	Neglect.....	Anonymous.....	Boy neglected and wild; mother out working daily.
27..	Boy...	15	Stealing.....	Private.....	Previous inmate at protectory; boy has bad associates; mother and home of married brother of good repute; mother works out daily.
28..	Girl....	6	Neglect.....	C. O. S.....	Mother finds it difficult to support family; illness of child prevented steady employment; reputation good.
	Girl....	3			
	Boy...	9 mos.			
29..	Boy...	12	Ungovernable.	House of Industry.	Boy runaway from institution; mother bears good reputation and is supporting her family.
30..	Boy...	8	Ungovernable.	Mother.....	Boy beyond mother's control; mother works out daily; has good reputation.
31..	Boy...	8	Ungovernable.	Mother.....	Beyond control; mother out all day working.
32..	Girl....	15	Immoral.....	Officer of C. C.....	Girl wayward; mother works out daily; has good reputation.
33..	Girl....	12	Neglect.....	St. Patrick's school	Children neglected; mother works hard daily and is respectable.
34..	Boy...	13	Assault.....	Private.....	Boy associates with bad company; mother and elder children have good reputation; mother works daily.
35..	Boy...	13	Ungovernable.	Mother.....	Boy wild; mother bears excellent reputation; works out daily.
36..	Boy...	8	Neglect.....	Public school.....	Children delicate and sickly; woman respectable and supports home.
	Girl....	2			
37..	Boy...	13	Ungovernable.	Mother.....	Boy wild; mother works daily; has good reputation.
38..	Boy...	11	Larceny.....	Public school.....	Suspicious boy; mother works out daily; has good reputation.

EXTRACTS FROM THE RECORDS OF CHILDREN'S COURT—*Continued*

Case No.	Sex	Age	Charge	Source.	Reasons
39..	Boy...	4	Neglect.....	Mother.....	Woman respectable; cannot support child.
40..	Boy...	4	Neglect.....	Anonymous.....	Woman very poor; finds it hard to care for family on meagre income of children.
	Boy...	8			
	Boy...	13			
	Girl....	9			
	Girl....	16			
	Girl....	18			
41..	Boy...	7	Ungovernable.	Mother.....	Boy ungovernable; mother cannot properly care for him; works daily; has very good reputation.
42..	Girl....	15	Incorrigible...	Mother.....	Girl wild; mother respectable; works out daily.
43..	Boy...	15	Burglary.....	Detective.....	Boy has bad companions; mother respectable; works out daily.
44..	Girl....	15	Immorality...	Private.....	Girl wayward; mother respectable; works out daily.
45..	Boy...	13	Disorderly....	Police officer.....	Boy has bad associates; mother respectable; works out daily.
46..	Boy...	13	Larceny.....	Private.....	Boy has bad associates; home and mother bear good reputation; mother works daily.
	Boy...	7			
47..	Boy...	14	Burglary.....	Detective.....	Boy implicated in burglary; home and mother respectable; works daily.
48..	Boy...	11	Truancy.....	Mother.....	Runaway and truant; mother respectable; employed daily.
49..	Boy...	13	Larceny.....	Special officer of railroad.....	Boy wild; mother works out daily; and has good reputation.
50..	Boy...	14	Ungovernable.	Mother.....	Boy associates with bad companions; mother of good repute; elder children and mother works out.
	Girl....	19			
	Girl....	7			
	Girl....	21			
51..	Girl....	14	Immorality...	Police officer.....	Girl wayward; associates with bad companions; mother of good reputation; tries hard to support children; works out daily.
52..	Boy...	15	Truancy.....	Bd. of Education..	Boy steals and acts suspiciously; mother works out daily; respectable.
53..	Girl....	16	Ungovernable.	Mother.....	Beyond control; mother works out daily; good repute.
54..	Girl....	15	Immorality...	Principal Public school No. 96.	Girl runaway; associates with bad company; mother works away from home; children help support.
55..	Boy...	10	Runaway.....	Mother.....	Boy truant; mother respectable, works out daily to support home.
56..	Boy...	13	Disorderly....	Private.....	Boy accused of using a blackjack; mother works out daily and has a good reputation.
57..	Boy...	12	Ungovernable.	Mother.....	Boy wild; mother respectable; works away from home daily.

EXTRACTS FROM THE RECORDS OF CHILDREN'S COURT—*Continued*

Case No.	Sex	Age	Charge	Source	Reasons
58..	Boy...	13	Begging.....	Clergyman.....	Children found begging and singing in streets; mother works away from home daily; home condition fair; woman respectable.
	Boy...	14			
59..	Boy...	15	Impairing morals.	Police officer.....	Caught teaching boys to steal; mother works out daily; home respectable.
60..	Boy...	15	Runaway.....	Uncle.....	Boy truant; mother works out daily; woman respectable.
61..	Boy...	9			
	Boy...	13	Ungovernable.	Public school.....	Boy truant; mother and family of high repute; mother goes out working; children help support house.
62..	Boy...	14	Larceny.....	Private.....	Boy wild; mother respectable and works to support family.
63..	Boy...	13	Burglary.....	Private.....	Home conditions good; mother works daily away from home.
64..	Girl...	12	Neglect.....	Waverly House...	Mother respectable; woman and eldest girl work in factory to support family; unable to care properly for younger children.
	Boy...	6			
	Boy...	4			
65..	Boy...	12	Ungovernable.	Police officer.....	Boy wild; mother works hard to support family; very respectable home.
66..	Boy...	10	Larceny.....	Private.....	Boy wild; bad associates; mother and elder son support family; very respectable.
67..	Girl...	15	Immorality...	Mother.....	Girl wild; runaway; mother works daily; very respectable; elder children help support home.
68..	Boy...	15	Incorrigible...	Mother.....	Mother respectable; supports family by working out daily.
69..	Girl...	14	Ungovernable.	Mother.....	Home and mother respectable; works out daily to support home; girl has bad companions.
70..	Boy...	10	Incorrigible...	Mother.....	Boy wild; runaway; mother works out daily; home respectable.
71..	Girl...	13	Immorality...	Public school.....	Girl wayward; mother deaf and dumb; respectable; works away from home daily.
72..	Girl...	8	Ungovernable.	St. Francis Xavier..	Mother away from home all day working to support home.
73..	Boy...	13	Incorrigible...	Mother.....	Mother works away from home.
74..	Boy...	13	Incorrigible...	Private.....	Bad company; mother works away from home all day.
75..	Boy...	11	Uncontrollable	Mother.....	Mother works away from home daily.
76..	Boy...	15	Burglary.....	Private.....	Boy wild; family respectable; mother works out daily to support family.
77..	Boy...	12	Ungovernable.	Mother.....	Boy wild; mother supports family; home respectable.

EXTRACTS FROM THE RECORDS OF CHILDREN'S COURT—*Continued*

Cases No.	Sex	Age	Charge	Source.	Reasons
78	Boy...	11	Ungovernable.	Police officer.....	Petty thief; mother and girl support home; family of good repute.
79	Boy...	9	Neglect.....	Private.....	Extreme poverty; mother tries to work; boy ill.
	Boy...	8			
	Girl....	5½			
80	Girl....	13	Grand larceny	Private.....	Mother works as servant; child as nurse girl; mother respectable.
81	Girl....	13	Runaway.....	Private.....	Mother respectable; works as seamstress; home good; girl wild and incorrigible.
82	Girl....	15	Immorality...	Mother.....	Mother respectable; keeps boarders to support family; girl immoral.
83	Boy...	12	Stealing.....	Officer 35th prec't.	Home respectable; mother works daily.
84	Boy...	14	Vagrant.....	Police officer.....	Boy associates with bad gang; mother works out daily and supports family; respectable.
85	Boy...	13	Destitution...	Private Catholic Charities	Mother cannot support this large family; woman is of unusual character and has made every sacrifice to keep her family together.
	Boy...	10			
	Boy...	7			
	Girl....	12			
	Girl....	6			
86	Boy...	15	Incorrigible...	Catholic Society...	Boy wild; mother is respectable and works out daily.
87	Boy...	9	Ungovernable.	Mother.....	Boy beyond control; mother works out daily.
88	Boy...	14	Incorrigible...	Private.....	Mother destitute and ill; had supported her family ten years.
	Boy...	16			
89	Boy...	13	Disorderly conduct.	Police officer.....	Boy has bad associates; mother has excellent reputation; works out of home daily.
90	Boy...	12	Truancy.....	Anonymous.....	Good respectable mother works out to support home; boy ungovernable.
91	Girl....	13	Immoral.....	Mother.....	Mother works out daily; has good reputation; girl wild and immoral.
92	Boy...	9	Incorrigible...	Mother.....	Beyond control; mother works all day to support family.
93	Boy...	9	Destitution...	Clergyman.....	Mother decent, but unable to support herself and family; two elder girls in asylum.
94	Boy...	10	Ungovernable.	Mother.....	Boy wild; mother works as waitress and is respectable.
95	Boy...	8	Ungovernable.	Mother.....	Mother works away from home; unable to give boy proper attention.
96	Girl....	14	Ungovernable.	Bd. of Education..	Mother unable to control girl; works out daily.

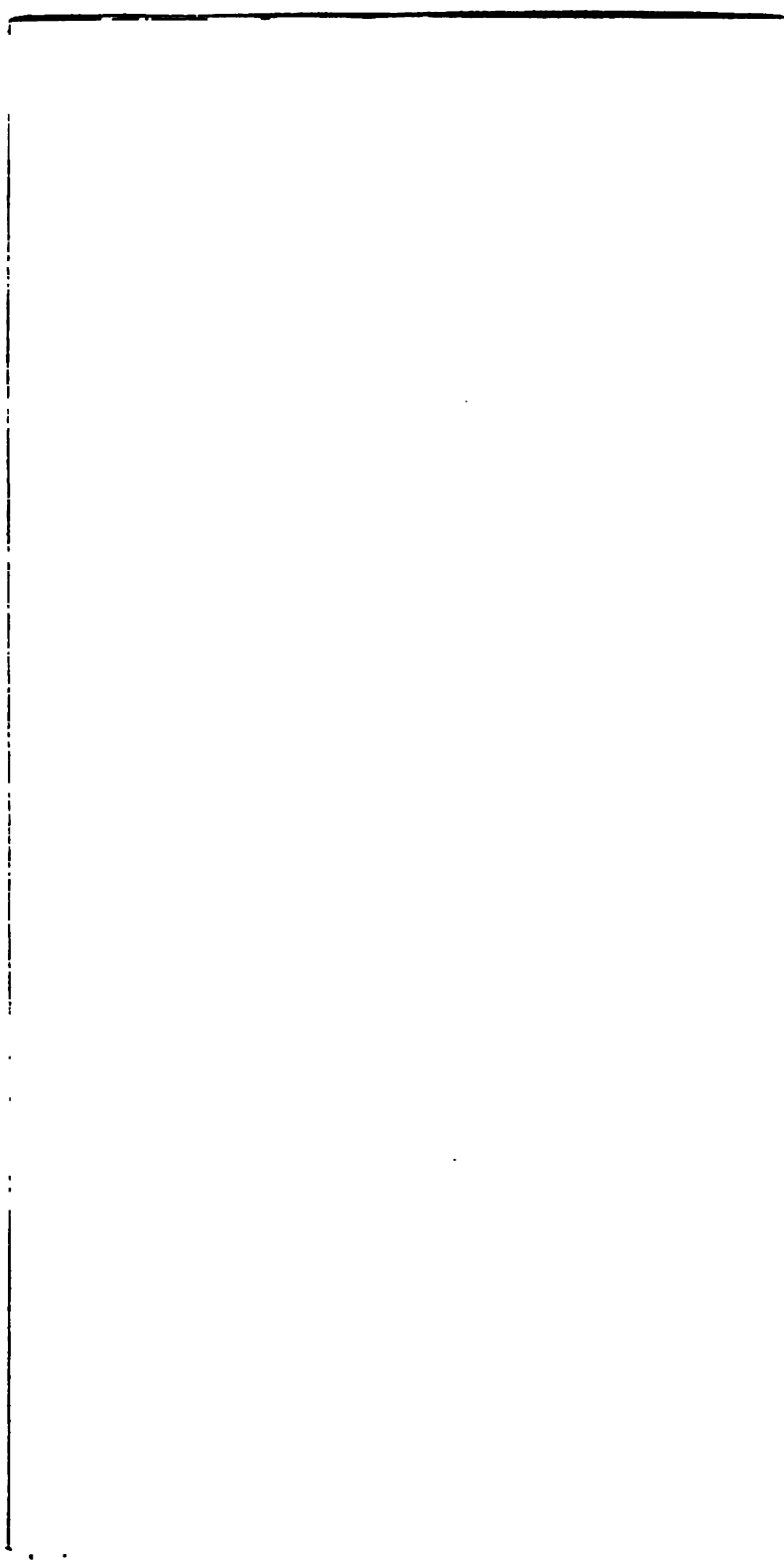
EXTRACTS FROM THE RECORDS OF CHILDREN'S COURT—*Continued*

Case No.	Sex	Age	Charge	Source	Reasons
97	Boy...	14	Incorrigible...	Mother.....	Boy beyond control; mother has good reputation; works out daily.
98	Boy...	12	Truancy.....	Public school.....	Incorrigible and truant; mother cannot properly care for child.
99	Boy...	11	Neglect.....	Mother.....	Respectable woman; works daily.
100	Girl....	15	Truancy and ungovernable.	Public school No. 9	Girl insolent; mother respectable and works out daily.
101	Boy...	13	Unruly.....	Mother.....	Lives with aunt; mother works daily; reputation good.
102	Boy...	5	Neglect.....	A. I. C. B.....	Mother locked children in house; works out during day.
	Girl....	7			
103	Boy...	14	Ungovernable.	Principal public school	Boy wild; mother very respectable; works out daily.
104	Boy...	13	Runaway.....	Private.....	Boy unruly; mother employed daily and away from home.
	Boy...	10			
105	Boy...	10	Incorrigible...	Mother.....	Family respectable; mother works away from home and cannot control boy.
106	Girl....	14	Incorrigible...	Mother.....	Girl ungovernable; mother supports family with aid of elder children.
107	Girl....	11	Neglect.....	A. I. C. P.....	Woman very poor; takes in washing by the day; elder boy shiftless; cannot support family.
	Boy...	3			
108	Boy...	10	Incorrigible...	Private.....	Mother works daily to support family; no proper supervision.
109	Boy...	13	Ungovernable.	Private.....	Mother works daily; cannot properly control boy.
110	Boy...	11	Defective.....	Officer police.....	Boy irresponsible; another employed daily away from home; mother respectable.
111	Boy...	12	Destitute.....	Private.....	Mother respectable; tried hard to support family but did not succeed; received aid from relatives but found it inadequate; one girl working.
	Boy...	12			
	Boy...	9			
	Girl....	7			
	Girl....	5			
	Girl....	3			
	Boy...	17 mos.			
112	Boy...	12	Begging.....	Private.....	Boy soliciting alms; mother respectable; works daily to support family.
113	Boy...	10	Incorrigible...	Church worker....	Boy wild; mother daily employed.
114	Boy...	12	Incorrigible...	Mother.....	Mother works daily; unable to control proper supervision.
115	Girl....	8	Destitute.....	Private.....	Woman very respectable; destitute since death of husband. Unable to support all the children; will care for infant.
	Girl....	6			
	Girl....	4			
	Boy...	2			
	Boy...	9 mos.			
116	Girl....	15	Immorality...	Mother.....	Girl wayward; keeps bad company; mother and family of good repute; mother works out daily.



EXTRACTS FROM THE RECORDS OF CHILDREN'S COURT—*Concluded*

Cases No.	Sex	Age	Charge	Source.	Reasons
117	Girl...	15	Incorrigible...	Mother.....	Mother works daily; girl unruly.
118	Boy...	10	Neglect.....	A. I. C. P.....	Mother works daily; cannot care for children properly.
	Boy...	5			
	Girl...	6			
	Girl...	3			
119	Girl....	14	Neglect.....	Bd. of Education..	Mother working; cannot properly supervise.
120	Boy...	14	Runaway.....	Police officer.....	Former inmate of protectory; has long bad record; mother works daily.
121	Boy...	9	Ungovernable.	Police.....	Boy associates with bad companions; mother works out daily; very respectable.
	Girl....	5			
122	Boy...	14	Larceny.....	Private.....	Boy associated with bad gang; mother is respectable and works out daily.



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1-year loans may be recharged by bringing books  
to NRLF  
Renewals and recharges may be made 4 days  
prior to due date

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DUE AS STAMPED BELOW

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**SEP 5** <sup>Re</sup> **1990**

OCT 04 1990

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*Santa Cruz Jirney*

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